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ABSTRACT

A study of successful urban schools was conducted using two research strategies. Part One of this report consists of eight case studies of elementary schools in midwestern cities. The case reports were based on self-studies, in many instances by school staff members. The studies were constructed to focus on the human factors that make the individual schools exceptional. The second section of the report is a comprehensive review of research literature. Hundreds of studies were reviewed and their findings synthesized to identify critical factors contributing to exceptionality. Data sources and search strategies are appended. (Author/MK)

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Why Do Some Urban Schools Succeed?

The Phi Delta Kappa Study of Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools

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Foreword

Reading the Phi Delta Kappa research study on exceptional urban elementary schools gives one a sense of hope for the future of urban education. The last two decades have been turbulent for all schools, especially those in urban areas. The infusion of billions of dollars of federal funds has not always produced the hoped-for results. While dollars are important, this study shows that they alone do not make successful urban schools; people do.

The study is reported in two parts. Part I consists of eight case studies of elementary schools in large and medium-size midwestern cities. The schools were identified *a priori* as exceptional schools, schools that have somehow been able to overcome many of the negative factors that typically have an impact on urban education.

The case reports are based on what were essentially self-studies conducted by those closely associated with the particular school, in many cases by staff members of that school. While often subjective, these studies come closer to capturing the human factors that make these schools work than would a purely statistical study. Reading them provides a personal view of successful schools in action.

Part II is a comprehensive review of the research literature on exceptional urban elementary schools. The team that conducted this secondary source literature review examined hundreds of studies and synthesized the findings to identify the critical factors contributing to exceptionality.

The two parts of this study were carried out by separate investigating teams, each working independently of the other. The procedures used in the literature search reflected the best in research techniques. No such rigorous standards were applied in the case-study effort. However, the reader will find a high correlation between the causative factors noted in the case studies and those that the literature review identifies as being associated with successful urban elementary education.

Phi Delta Kappa is grateful to the Lilly Endowment, Inc., for funding this study and to Dean Evans, senior program officer at Lilly, for the wise counsel given those involved.

Phi Delta Kappa is also grateful and deeply indebted to the Indiana University School of Education and to the faculty members who comprised the investigating teams.

A special word of appreciation is extended to the staffs of the eight school systems from which the case studies were drawn. They devoted many, many hours to gathering data while still carrying on their regular assignments.

This Phi Delta Kappa study represents a truly collaborative effort by a foundation, a professional organization, a university, and a number of public school systems working together to provide information that can be used in improving urban education. Research, leadership, and service are the ideals upon which Phi Delta Kappa was founded. This study represents one effort to carry out these ideals.

Lowell C. Rose
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June 1980

Part I

Case Studies of Eight Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools

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Introduction to the Case Studies

by

Leonard L. Gregory

Faced with evidence that schools in urban areas can be successful, researchers have turned their attention to studying these exceptions to help educators make better policy decisions to increase the effectiveness of urban schools. To date researchers have used three approaches in studying urban schools. One approach has concentrated on describing the characteristics of exceptional schools or programs employing normative survey and/or case study techniques (Chase, 1977; Trisman, Waller, and Wilder, 1977; Wargo, 1977). The conclusions arrived at employing these techniques are:

1. Local and situational factors—including program leadership, staff and district commitment, and effectiveness of implementation—are crucial to program success (Chase, 1977, p. 38).
2. Good reading programs exist where reading is defined as an important instructional goal (Trisman, Waller, and Wilder, 1977, p. 11).
3. Directly relevant instruction is associated with successful compensatory education projects (Wargo, 1977, p. 9).

A second approach (Brookover, 1977a; 1977b) has attempted to identify the variables associated with high levels of student achievement using multiple regression techniques. The conclusions have typically been framed in terms of variables or variable clusters that contribute significantly to student achievement:

1. The staff of the improving schools hold decidedly higher and apparently increasing levels of expectations with regard to educational accomplishments of their students (Brookover, 1977a, p. 5).
2. Teachers in the high-achieving schools seem to epitomize "good teachers." They are better trained, higher paid, and more experienced (Bureau of School Programs Evaluation, 1976).
3. Background factors (SES, health, ethnicity, and attendance) and reading test scores in earlier grades were found to account for the largest part of the variation in sixth grade reading scores for the children in our sample (Pascal et al., 1976, p. vi).

A third approach (Dougharty, 1978; Nichols, 1976; Summers and Wolfe, 1977) has not concentrated specifically on exceptional schools, but has investigated the phenomenon of student achievement in urban districts as a measure of school effectiveness. Like the second approach, these researchers frequently apply multiple regression techniques to normative survey data. Their findings, when they report on exceptional performance, are similar to those noted above:

1. Differences in performances among schools are not due to differences in the concentration of resources. . . . If there was a difference among schools, it was the basic skills emphasis of the effective schools (Dougharty, 1977, p. 19).

2. Being in a school with a large proportion of low-achievers has a negative effect on learning for all students (Summers and Wolfe, 1977, p. 646).

3. Teacher experience, age, and salary were significantly related to achievement, as was the academic orientation of the school (Nichols, 1976, p. 10).

The findings cited above represent pioneer efforts by researchers in urban education and provide benchmarks in an uncharted area. They document exceptional performance in urban areas that are usually characterized by disappointing performance. But the consequence of such research efforts to date has had limited utility to policy makers and planners concerned with improvement in urban education. The limitation of such findings for the educational policy maker or planner is that they concentrate on *descriptions* of successful schools and programs. They answer the question, "How are successful urban schools different from unsuccessful urban schools?" The schools studied have been identified *a priori* as successful. The schools are successful because they have special characteristics, i.e., external grants, strong leaders, special emphasis programs. The descriptions become the cause.

An educational planner may be interested in such descriptive distinctions but is more likely to be concerned with an underlying question, "Why did these schools or programs become successful or exceptional when others did not?" The planner or decision maker needs to understand the development of the "maverick" school sufficiently to be able to increase the number of mavericks and to counteract the self-fulfilling prophecy that urban schools by definition are low-achieving.

Understanding the *development*, rather than the *description* of the maverick urban elementary school implies a different perspective for the researcher. It calls for a focus on the past instead of the present, on the process of change rather than the state of success. If educational planners and policy makers are to learn anything from examples of success in urban schools, they must know how to initiate those changes that facilitate success in schools. They must learn how the process of evolution works within these schools.

Procedures for Conducting the Case Studies

Building upon previous research efforts, the project staff for the case studies attempted to focus on the process of change in improving urban elementary schools in order to draw implications for policy makers by:

1. Emphasizing the study of evolving and improving urban schools rather than "model" schools.

2. Concentrating on a retrospective reconstruction of events or incidents that by logical inference related to this improvement.

3. Relating all of its queries and data gathering to the specific issues facing local district administrators and state and federal policy makers who are concerned with improving urban education.

Whether gathering data *de novo* or dealing with data from secondary sources, the project staff has used the critical incidents technique to identify those events that seemed to determine the course of a school's development. The local team in conducting its self-study has tried to identify retrospectively the sequence of those events that modified the basic elements of the school over time and to describe, where possible, the circumstances surrounding each event.

The project staff hoped to aggregate data across the eight case studies of the urban elementary schools involved to strengthen any inferences made concerning factors contributing to exceptionality in school performance. The data generated through the eight case studies was not uniform in quantity or quality. Consequently, to the extent possible, both research studies and case studies from secondary sources were used to supplement the current data gathering efforts (See Part II).

Throughout the data gathering, the project staff emphasized manipulable elements in a school environment in order to draw some practical implications for local, state, and national policy makers. The intent was to come up with practical recommendations for those interested in increasing the number of exceptional schools in urban school districts.

The case studies were designed to observe the changes in a set of independent variables in an elementary school, as the dependent variable (student achievement) fluctuates. Observation was restricted to schools in which the dependent variable fluctuates in a single direction, that is, student achievement levels in a school are rising. The changes in the independent variables were reconstructed over time in case histories of eight urban elementary schools, and an effort was made to describe these events—who participated, who was affected, what triggered the events.

The essential nature of the study was historical, and ideally the design was to rely on data gathered uniformly from the sampled schools and from the individuals in those schools who participated in the events being studied. Limitations of time and resources, however, restricted complete uniformity in such data gathering, thus sacrificing some generalizability to the criterion of internal validity.

Urban Elementary Schools Self-Study

Overview. The self-study was designed to obtain primary source data through case histories of improving urban elementary schools. Eight midwestern urban school districts were asked to participate in the project by contributing a case history of an improving elementary school in their district. Local teams, whose membership was determined by the district, identified and studied the selected school. The project staff, in addition to supplying the initial impetus to the local team at a planning conference held at Phi Delta Kappa International Headquarters in

December 1978, provided technical assistance throughout the period of the self-study—locating consultants, assisting with data collection, observing, advising, and procuring needed materials. Although the local districts acted independently, their preparation of their case studies reflected common guidelines agreed upon during the planning period.

The eight case histories are a small sample and are certainly not generalizable to the population of urban elementary schools in this country. However, the data were collected from primary sources specifically to meet the objectives of this project and are supplemented by the secondary source data in Part II.

Identification of Participating School Districts. The eight midwestern urban school districts participating in this study are: Indianapolis, Gary, Fort Wayne, Terre Haute, Louisville, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Decatur (Ill.). The school case studies director visited each district superintendent to explain the project and the conditions under which the district would participate, and to solicit suggestions the district might have to contribute to the project. An effort was made to maintain maximum flexibility in the self-studies for the divergent interests, needs, and resources of the individual districts.

In addition to the eight participating districts, two additional districts were invited to serve as consulting districts: St. Louis and Dayton. Their role was to provide a sounding board for testing project procedures and outcomes in the planning conference and the synthesis conference.

The Planning Conference. Each participating district selected a three-member local planning team, including a central office administrator and an elementary classroom teacher, to attend a planning conference. Prior to the conference, the members of each local team met to review the study proposal, to discuss possible schools to be selected for the self-study, to inventory technical assistance needs that might be met by the project staff or with funds provided in the local grant, and to identify issues they wished to have discussed at the planning conference.

The two consulting districts selected two-member teams composed of persons with expertise in urban education and/or school self-study procedures. They met prior to the planning conference to review the study proposal and to identify issues to be considered in the conference.

The project staff arranged for two conference presentations by specialists in urban education, prepared discussion guides to direct the planning that was to take place at the conference, and developed initial resource materials for the local study teams.

The presentations by Daniel U. Levine and Wilbur Brookover were designed to stimulate and inform the planning conference participants and to contribute to the overall study by presenting both new findings and syntheses of findings about urban elementary education in the literature.

The discussion guides prepared for the planning conference covered the topics on which concurrence was sought to allow for cross-school comparison of data collected in the school self-studies. The topics were:

1. Criteria for school selection
2. Agreement on elements or clusters of elements to be studied
3. Definition of key terms used in the study
4. Composition of local study teams
5. Types of data to be sought in identifying and explaining critical incidents
6. Techniques of data collection
7. Outline for developing and reporting the case history

The resources and consultation provided to the local study teams included possible data sources, techniques in writing case studies, ways of recognizing and treating bias, and how to conduct interviews and develop questionnaires.

Local Team Pre-Study Activities. Before beginning the self-study, the local district 1) appointed a local study team, 2) designated a team chairperson to serve as liaison to the project staff, 3) developed a local budget for the use of the grant funds, 4) designated a target school for study that met the criteria agreed upon at the planning conference, and 5) outlined a proposal for conducting the self-study. The school case studies director was available throughout the self-study period and assisted the local teams in these tasks.

The Self-Study Process. The school districts operated largely on their own in conducting the self-study. The local teams worked with staff, students, parents, and members of the community associated with the target school. The school case studies director and his staff functioned largely in a technical assistance role, responding to *ad hoc* requests, making one or two scheduled visits to each district, and in one instance assisting in the data gathering with the local team.

Integrating the Case Studies. After receiving the case histories from the eight schools, the school case studies director integrated them into a concluding chapter that provides a reasonable summary of the self-study project.

Synthesis Conference. At the end of the project in June 1979, participants reconvened for a one-and-a-half-day conference to examine the eight school self-studies and the secondary source analyses. Outside presenters assisted the local teams and the project staff in examining the data, testing the validity of the inferences drawn from the data, and projecting the implications of the data for local, state, and national policy makers.

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School #2
Indianapolis, Indiana

By

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Contributors

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This case study is about a small inner-city school in the middle of a large metropolitan area. You might expect to find a dirty building with many boarded-up broken windows, an unkempt school yard and parking area, students without motivation, and a teaching staff that feels its job is futile. You will *not*. Instead, you will find an attractive, clean building with no broken windows or graffiti-covered walls. You will find test scores that show that learning is taking place and a staff that works together to provide the best education for each child. One parent described the school as an "oasis in the neighborhood."

How did the central administration choose this school for this study of exemplary urban elementary schools? An assistant to the superintendent related these criteria: 1) has strong administrative leadership and faculty stability; 2) serves a diverse school population; 3) achieves above expected levels on standardized test scores; and 4) is a place where things are happening to and for kids.

In searching for the reasons for the success of this school several factors emerged. First and foremost was the strong leadership of the administrator. Her setting high expectancy levels for herself, her staff, and the children; her expertise in management techniques; her professional treatment of those with whom she worked; her strong discipline; and her personal concern for her staff were all identified as critical ingredients in making the school exceptional.

Other factors contributing to the success of this school were the remedial reading programs, the social worker, and the community aide. These latter two individuals helped keep solid ties between the school and the families of the community, a critically important factor in establishing a successful urban elementary school.

Profile of School #2

School #2 serves the downtown mile-square area of Indianapolis, Indiana, a city with a population of 741,000. School #2 is one of 95 elementary schools in the Indianapolis Public School System. It is surrounded by various businesses, office buildings, senior citizen housing, high-rise apartments, interstate highways, and social agencies, one of which is the Indianapolis Day Nursery.

The school is in a neighborhood of predominantly multiple-family dwellings, most of which are substandard. On the fringe of this neighborhood there are a few upper-middle-class home owners. The community has been naturally integrated over a period of years and now has a 35.6% black student population.

The wage earner in most of the families works at an unskilled job. The few professional families living in the community are newcomers who have been lured by the trend of reclaiming the inner city by renovating urban housing.

Crime is considered no more of a problem in the School #2 area than it is in other residential areas of the city. In a survey (made by the Indianapolis Police Department) for the Riley Area Revitalization Program, three-fourths of the quadrant around the school was designated as a low crime area. The other quadrant was designated as a high crime area due to large parking areas.

Some families have remained in the community for a long period of time, but there are also many transient families as evidenced by a 39.7% turnover rate in the student population.

Many of the students who attend School #2 do not live in the immediate school community. The original boundaries for School #2 were extended during the period of this study to include two other inner-city school districts where schools have been closed. However, the background of these new students is similar to the existing school population and did not change the overall character of the school. Approximately 100 students were involved in one of the boundary changes and they are bused to the school. Twenty-five primary students who attend the school come from various areas of the city and are cared for by the Indianapolis Day Nursery.

The school building is 20 years old, making it one of the more recently built elementary schools in Indianapolis. There are classes for kindergarten through sixth grade, two primary and one intermediate class for the mildly mentally handicapped, and one primary and two intermediate classes for the learning disabled. The mildly mentally handicapped and the learning disabled students are not included in this study.

School #2

Since School #2 has been designated as a Title I school, several special programs and additional staff have been made available: the breakfast/lunch program, remedial math and reading programs, tutorial math and reading programs, an elementary guidance counselor, a community aide, a resource teacher, a social worker, and some instructional aides. In addition to the programs provided by Title I, there are a speech clinician, a librarian, a public health nurse, and Indianapolis Public School consultants assigned to the building. The school is served by an average of 50 personnel, 18 of whom are classroom teachers. There is one administrator.

Procedures

Data for this study were obtained in interviews with 14 teachers, four former staff members, seven parents, one assistant superintendent, one area coordinator, and two building consultants.

Other data were collected from questionnaires administered to 96 parents, 67 students, and 14 teachers.

In teacher interviews 15 factors were mentioned as possibly contributing to the success of School #2. A list was made of these factors and the teachers were asked to rank them in the order of their importance. This rank order instrument will be mentioned frequently in the case study.

Other sources of data were: school and central office records, previously published reports, test scores, informal discussions, observation, and personal experiences.

Critical Incidents

The definition of an exceptional school for purposes of this study is one that has consistently improved or maintained student achievement over a four-year period. The mean test scores in reading and math at School #2 have been equal to or above the all-city mean during the four years reviewed in this study. In order for test scores to remain above expected levels, there were several contributing factors. However, the administrator was found to be *the* major contributor to making School #2 an exceptional urban elementary school. The administrator exhibited good management and leadership techniques, had high expectations for her school, treated her staff professionally, maintained discipline, and showed concern for those with whom she worked. The data collected indicated that her strengths in these five areas were important factors in developing the excellence of the school.*

Management

A good example of the principal's management techniques was the attention she gave to the planning of building objectives. She invited teachers at each grade level to meet and discuss objectives, and she instructed them in how to write objectives correctly. She also wrote her own objectives. With this kind of cooperative planning, 92.3% of the teachers reported they knew the principal's objectives for the building.

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*Velma L. Pruett, the co-author of this case study, is not the principal referred to extensively throughout the case study. It is her predecessor, now retired.

The principal's emphasis on planning instructional objectives is evidenced by the teacher questionnaire responses, which showed 100% of the teachers felt they were involved in the planning of the objectives. They knew that these objectives would be evaluated so they kept working toward achieving them.

In 1974-75 School #2 was involved in a Program Planning Budget Systems (PPBS) pilot project that concentrated on developing instructional objectives. The principal arranged for several resource people who were specialized in writing instructional objectives or who worked directly with PPBS to conduct inservice training for the staff. The dramatic rise in test scores in 1975-76 may be a direct result of this effort.

Another good management technique was the use of special meetings to help all teachers new to the building and any others to prepare reports required by the central office. Perfection in the handling of reports was stressed in order to facilitate her compilation of reports for the entire school. If the report did not meet the principal's standards, the teacher was directed and corrected in such a way that the problem was not likely to recur.

In the Indianapolis Public School system it is the responsibility of the principal to order supplies with a yearly allocation of money based on enrollment. Proof of good management by this principal was that 100% of the teachers said they had the supplies they needed for teaching throughout the year. By giving the teachers the supplies they needed, she removed an excuse for teachers not doing their job.

The principal filtered out all unnecessary interruptions that would interfere with teaching. The building consultant stated, "At this school the instructional program was not to be disturbed." The teacher ranking instrument listed "time being controlled so that teaching could be at a maximum" as fifth in importance. It is obvious at School #2 that teachers are expected to teach. Among students, 98% felt that the teachers were working hard to help them learn. Ninety-three percent of the parents felt that the teachers were trying to give their child a good education. A parent living in the fashionable restoration area of Lockerbie Square stated in the Indianapolis Club monthly magazine in October 1978 that schooling in this school district was "at least on par with the rest of the city," and she plans to eventually enroll a second child in School #2. The parent said, "We both agree that it's a better grade school than either of us attended and we are both former teachers."

The principal sees to it that all the staff is informed as to what goes on in the building through bulletins and staff meetings: 84.6% of the teachers reported they were given enough information about what goes on in the building and about the policies of the Indianapolis Public School System. Also, 87.8% of the parents responding to the questionnaire and six of seven parents interviewed felt informed about the school and its programs. Information was given to parents in bulletins, bimonthly newsletters, and parent meetings. The teacher ranking instrument listed the management of the principal to be second in importance as a critical factor in the success of School #2. Each of the seven parents interviewed also identified the efficient management of the principal as a vital factor in this well-organized school.

Expectations

The high expectations held by the principal for herself, her staff, and the students was listed as first in importance on the teacher ranking instrument.

Following the planning of the objectives by the teachers and principal for the school year, the teachers were expected to meet these objectives. A teacher was free to use a variety of methods to reach these objectives. A former teacher said she felt the teachers at School #2 were unique in trying all available avenues to get the most for the child. Periodic evaluations were made by the teacher and principal so that help could be given to anyone who needed it. On the questionnaire, 84.6% of the teachers reported they knew what was expected of them in meeting these objectives, and 100% felt that help would be given to them if they needed it. A building consultant stated that she was directed by the principal to "literally move in" when a teacher was having difficulty. She also found that the administrator had read the teacher's needs well.

Consistent and thorough planning for the instruction of the children was a priority. A former teacher said in describing the principal, "She gave instruction top priority." In meeting the objectives, plans were not only set for individual classrooms but across grade levels in an effort to meet individual differences. Objectives were also set for primary and intermediate divisions and the school as a whole. The questionnaire showed 100% of the teachers felt that the staff worked together to meet building objectives. The teachers were expected to follow the plans made. On the teacher questionnaire, 100% of the teachers agreed that the principal felt it was her responsibility to see the plans through to the end. For example, one major goal for the building was for reading scores to improve each year. The administrator seldom, if ever, allowed scheduled reading time to be interrupted.

The high expectancy that the principal had for herself and the staff instilled in each staff member a feeling of importance for the total education of the child. She was described by one teacher as possessing a driving force that pushed the teachers to work and try harder. Seeing the eventual personal rewards for your efforts made it easier to accept her philosophy of education. She always had the children's interest at heart.

All the parents interviewed said that they felt the teachers took time to work with their children, and 95% of the students questioned said they felt their teacher was interested in helping them with their work. One of the parents interviewed, who is also a substitute teacher with the Indianapolis Public Schools, said, "Yes, I know my children are receiving a quality education. There is a total of 102 elementary and junior high schools in the system. I am a substitute teacher. I have taught in

80 of the public schools. The School #2 staff is an exceptional teaching staff; they care about the growth and development of their students, and they take time to listen to their students and parents about any concerns or problems that the child is facing."

As a result of group planning and discussion, each teacher was aware that his/her co-workers were working equally hard to teach each child. Since there was a total commitment to teaching, each staff member knew that the child he/she had in class had been given good instruction previously. A consultant who worked with teachers in the building said, "I observed subtle pressure from teachers on teachers to perform well."

It was the principal's plan that all teachers should know the strengths and weaknesses of the children in the building. Meetings were held to examine and analyze the total building test scores. All grade-level and subject area scores were put on the board for all teachers to see. There was discussion, and any reasons given for the progress or lack of progress were analyzed. Areas where scores equaled or exceeded city means were starred. Areas lacking sufficient progress were singled out and special objectives were drawn up for these. All teachers contributed suggestions as to how to strengthen the weak areas. The principal also called in the general consultant assigned to the building to work with teachers in these areas. A consultant said, "I was surprised and impressed at the knowledge the administrator had concerning the test scores of individual children in her building."

In summarizing the high expectancy held by the principal, a former teacher said, "When looking over my years at School #2, I knew what was expected of me and one could do no less." An assistant superintendent said of the principal, "I knew her as an educator and she wouldn't ask a teacher to do anything she would not do."

Professional Treatment

The teacher ranking instrument used to identify incidents that were critical in building an exceptional school listed professional treatment by the principal as fourth in importance. It was stated by a former teacher, "She guided us to make professional decisions and taught us to be excellent." Another teacher said, "She was professional in all areas of education. She got honest results with no errors and stayed above the environment."

Extra responsibilities assigned to the teachers were felt to be fairly distributed by 84.6% of the teachers, and 100% of the teachers felt that the teachers worked together in nonteaching tasks, an indication that teacher morale was high.

The administrator shared information concerning discussions and decisions of the Indianapolis School Board at teachers meetings. The teachers stated several times, "She wanted her teachers to be informed."

She operated an "open stock" room for teachers. They were allowed to get paper, books, manuals, crayons, paste, and other items as they saw fit.

In talking with people from the central office, several statements were made concerning the principal's professional treatment of her staff. An audiovisual consultant assigned to the building for several years said, "There is a professionalism about School #2 that one feels when entering the building."

Discipline

Discipline in School #2 begins with the principal. She demonstrated a great deal of self-discipline in her work. Reports that had to be made to the central office were done correctly and on time. The immediate supervisor of the administrator said, "Her reports were always accurate and on time." A member of the central office staff stated that she was a source of information and an "unofficial" consultant to other principals regarding the preparation of reports.

Disruptive behavior resulting in suspensions or expulsions of students, generalized fighting, and a disrespectful attitude toward teachers frequently found in inner-city schools were seldom seen at this school. In the past five years there were no suspensions at School #2 as a form of discipline.

To avoid use of corporal punishment and provide teachers with a variety of methods for handling behavior problems, the principal planned a Teacher Effectiveness Training workshop. This full-day workshop took place the day before teachers were required to report to school in the fall. All the teaching staff participated in this program, receiving no pay and giving up one day of their vacation.

Naturally there are times when students' behavior warrants disciplinary action. The principal stood behind the disciplinary decisions of her teachers and supported them when parents confronted her concerning actions taken. One former teacher cited an example of the principal's support. She defended his disciplinary action to the child and the parent and later said to him privately, "Don't ever do that to me again!" All the teachers felt that when a student was brought to the principal for disciplinary action the teacher would be supported, even though later he or she might be corrected privately.

The parent questionnaire showed that 92.9% felt that the school disciplined their child fairly, and 86.3% of the students responding to the student questionnaire felt that they were treated fairly at school.

Personal Concern for Staff

The interviews with the teachers showed that a feeling of cohesiveness existed among the staff. Although 15 teachers have left this school during the past five years, only three left for similar positions in other Indianapolis schools. Twelve left due to promotions, change of occupation, closing of rooms due to declining enrollment, maternity leave, or to seek a teaching position not available at School #2.

In trying to discover what factors created this sense of belonging, the teachers stated, almost without exception, that the principal showed a personal interest in them and their families. She took time to find out how members of their families were, what they were doing, what plans they had made for vacations.

The principal invited four or five staff members at a time over to her apartment in a nearby high-rise building for lunch. She welcomed the faculty social committee's plans for holiday parties, pitch-in lunches, and showers for weddings and babies. She provided a room in her apartment for several baby showers.

Yet each teacher interviewed said that in spite of the close social contact that she had with them, she was able to separate pleasure from business. It was said by one teacher who had entertained the principal at her home, "I knew when we returned to school in the morning I would receive no special favors and I would be expected to carry out my responsibilities."

Every August teachers at School #2 receive a letter from the principal welcoming them back, telling them about her summer, passing on information concerning any staff changes and what the teachers can expect in the new school year. New members to the staff are taken on a tour of the building on their first visit.

One new teacher stated, "On my first tour of the building she made me feel that this school was *the* school in Indianapolis and that I should feel fortunate to be assigned here." Returning staff members were given the responsibility of helping new teachers with the procedures and policies of the building.

At the close of each school year as the principal hands the pay checks to the staff, she inquires of each of them concerning their plans for the summer and states her concern for them during their vacation. She also gives each member of the staff a summer address list to facilitate keeping in touch with each other.

Other Critical Factors

In examining the other data collected for this study, the social worker, the community aide, and the remedial reading program were also identified as contributing factors in making School #2 an exceptional urban school.

Social Worker

The interviews with parents and former teachers indicated that the social worker, who had worked with the community for 11 years, created a strong bond between the community and the school.

One parent said that she would have been unable to work through her personal problems had it not been for the support given to her by the school social worker. A teacher said, "The social worker gave them [teachers] information about the children and their families and this helped them to understand the children and to teach them more effectively."

Her concern for each child's education was evidenced by the importance she placed on attendance. A former teacher said that she had heard the social worker say, "You can't teach them if they are not here." Another teacher stated that teachers had access to the social worker; there was a give-and-take relationship about information on children.

Community Aide

One of the factors identified by parents that has been helpful in making School #2 an exceptional school in the past five years is the community aide. The community aide is a liaison between the community and the school who sets up meetings and programs that involve parents. The community aide is responsible for encouraging parents to take an active role in guiding their own children toward greater academic achievement.

One parent stated that because of the community aide more parents were participating in the overall program. She also stated that the school had community aides who were able to work with people. To the question, "If you could name one thing during the past five years that has helped this to be a good school, what would it be?", one parent responded, "the community aide."

Remedial Reading Program

Along with the social worker and the community aide, the remedial reading program was identified as a factor in making the school an exceptional urban elementary school.

The remedial reading program involves students in grades 3 through 6 who test below the fortieth percentile on reading skills. Special work is planned for these students by the remedial reading teacher on a daily basis. In response to the interview question, "Can you think of any change in the way your child is being taught that has made a difference in your child's progress in school?" all parents whose children were involved in the remedial reading program mentioned the program as helping their child to be more successful in reading.

Conclusions

During this study it was found that supportive services and Title I programs contributed to the overall effectiveness of the school. However, we found the philosophy of the principal and her leadership techniques to be paramount in the successful operation of the school. One survey, *Indianapolis Education Association/Instructional Needs Assessment*, reported that School #2 teachers had fewer complaints and desires for change than any of the other 33 Title I schools.

During the course of interviews and discussions, many positive statements were made about the school. For instance, a principal of a non-Title I school said, "I was amazed to find that School #2 test scores were equal to non-Title I schools."

An architectural firm, in an effort to bring families into a restoration area of the inner city served by School #2, stated, "The administration and teachers of this school stress self-confidence and a good self-concept. The staff is very stable and is very flexible in their teaching techniques. Neither discipline nor security has been a problem to date."

A convincing testimony that we found supporting the effectiveness of School #2 came from a parent. Her children had attended this school for many years. Then she had an opportunity to buy a home in another district. Her children were so unhappy in the new school that she gave up the home she owned to rent a home again in the School #2 district. She said, "If a child likes school he will do well."

Banneker Individualized Curriculum Center
Gary, Indiana

By

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Several blocks off the "combat zone," a phrase state police use to describe the well-traveled and often dangerous 80-94 interstate highway that separates the urban and suburban communities of northwest Indiana, lies the Banneker Individualized Curriculum Center. Some call this elementary school "an island unto itself" due to its unique instructional program developed under the leadership of Gordon McAndrew,* superintendent, Gary Community School Corporation (GCSC). But, the island metaphor can also be used to describe the academic performance of Banneker students, for it represents high ground in an ocean of failure that has characterized the nation's urban elementary schools.

Ten years ago the reading and math performance of Banneker students ranked near the bottom in the GCSC's elementary schools. Today, however, they rank near the top, even though the rest of Gary's elementary schools have made "modest but steady improvement" in these areas over this same 10-year period. In 1973 Banneker graduates' reading scores were one year and four months below the national norm and math scores were six months below the norm. In 1979 Banneker sixth-grade graduates read at the national norm and their math scores were five months above the norm. Notwithstanding the limitations of standardized tests, these differences suggest that something happened at Banneker! What happened can best be understood by looking at political, programmatic, demographic, and personnel events affecting the school and the community.

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*McAndrew left Gary, Indiana, in June 1979 to become superintendent of schools in Columbia, South Carolina.

The Political Background: A City on the Move

Albert Gary, corporation counsel for U.S. Steel, created Gary, Indiana, near the turn of this century for the purpose of producing steel. The area's natural resources made it an ideal location for this purpose, and there were plenty of strong hands in Eastern Europe ready to venture an ocean journey to man the blast furnaces along the shores of Lake Michigan. When the demand for men was greater than the supply, the mill sent recruiters to the South to bring back both blacks and whites tired of trying to make a living from the worn-out land. Later, men with names like Lopez and Santos found their way to Gary and the front gates of U.S. Steel. Hence, almost from the beginning, Gary was a diverse racial and ethnic community.

During World War II the demand for steel and men to produce it was great. Even prior to the war there was a national trend of rural southern blacks moving to northern urban centers, but the lure of jobs in the steel mills accentuated this trend in Gary's case during the war years.

After the war, the familiar migration of rural southern blacks to northern cities continued, but a new trend started—the migration of urban whites to suburbs that were sprouting on farm fields surrounding the central city. Between 1960 and 1970 the nonwhite population of Gary increased 35%, while the white population decreased 25%. This dramatic movement of people encouraged some wry commentators to observe that Gary had selected the right motto; indeed, it was "A city on the move"—on the move out of town. This shift in the racial composition of Gary's population was to set the stage for a critical event in the life of Banneker: the election of a black mayor.

The Quiet Man Takes Charge

After a particularly vigorous campaign in 1967, Richard Gordon Hatcher was elected mayor of Gary, Indiana. He was the city's first black mayor and the first black to be elected mayor of a major American city. Overnight the unassuming 34-year-old Hatcher became a national figure and the symbol of hope and change for Gary's growing black population.

Prior to Hatcher's election, many blacks had expressed hope that the schools would change and be more effective in educating black children. Hatcher was aware of the school board meetings where angry demonstrations had occurred prior to his election and continued to occur at the beginning of his administration, and he shared the anger of the demonstrators. In 1969 Hatcher characterized the urban public school as a "segregated detention center where the valedictorian requires remedial reading."

Even though Hatcher knew that as mayor he could not directly change board policies that governed administrative and instructional practices in the schools, he knew he could change the policy makers through his power of appointment to the board. He deliberately set out to appoint individuals to the board who could lead change in the schools and to appoint individuals who would reflect the racial composition of Gary's population. However, these appointments, which ultimately were to be so important to the academic progress of Banneker students, would have to wait until the terms of the current board had expired.

The board members Hatcher inherited and planned to replace were operating with a set of difficult conditions. There were demands for more and effective programs for low-achieving black students, yet there was virtually no money to provide additional programs. Blacks wanted more integrated schools, but most remaining whites resisted this. Four of the five board members were white, while the school system population was mostly black. The board was also spending a lot of time searching for a new superintendent who would be acceptable to the black community.

In spite of the problems facing the board, it had a record of accomplishment: reading and math scores had not declined during the four years prior to Hatcher's election; some special programs for low-achieving students were established; a massive building program was planned, funded, and mostly implemented; and a new superintendent was selected. This final accomplishment was to have a tremendous impact on the GCSC, for this superintendent dominated the system for 11 years and became one of the nation's leading urban school superintendents.

Banneker's Godfather

Gordon McAndrew's reputation as an innovative educator (not his considerable skills as an administrator) won him his appointment to the GCSC superintendency in 1968. Given the expectation for change created by Hatcher's election and the pressure from Gary's blacks to force the board to find innovative solutions to the problem of low-achieving black students, it surprised no one that the board selected as superintendent a person with successful experience administering innovative programs.

Although the superintendency of the Gary schools seemed like a perfect opportunity for McAndrew to implement many of his ideas, he wondered privately whether he had made the right decision by accepting the post. At an informal "meet-the-new-superintendent" gathering of Gary's influential citizens, McAndrew and Hatcher met and talked about the ideas each had and discovered that they shared similar values and dreamed the same dreams for the children of Gary. After this meeting, McAndrew's doubts gave way to confidence, and he decided that, "Gary was a good place to spend the rest of my youth and lose the rest of my innocence."

This meeting, which both men vividly recall, represented the start of a strong and positive relationship between two powerful political figures, the mayor and the school superintendent. Over the years, the strength and quality of this relationship grew, and as a result, Hatcher rarely disagreed with or criticized McAndrew in public and always consulted with him regarding new appointments to the board. Moreover, the quality of this relationship gave McAndrew the moral and, at times, the political support he needed to implement sweeping changes in program and personnel and to withstand the external and internal pressures that attended these changes. McAndrew knew that no individual or group could "get him" by going through Hatcher.

This relationship was important to Banneker also, for it gave McAndrew the edge he needed to resist strenuous efforts to terminate Banneker's novel but highly controversial experiment in performance contracting, to deny the desires of some to close Banneker because of declining enrollment, to openly provide Banneker additional resources to maintain its effective nongraded, individualized instruction program, and to ignore criticism of his appointment of a new Banneker principal in 1974. Taken together, these decisions made Banneker what it is today, but they led one quipster to stamp Banneker as "the superintendent's baby." Although this phrase amuses McAndrew, he and other ranking administrators understand its implication: Banneker exists as it is today due to critical decisions made by McAndrew.

Hatcher Appoints a Board "Ready for Anything"

Although McAndrew was ready to make sweeping changes and Hatcher was ready to support these changes, McAndrew found that he and the board had to devote much of their time to solving the financial problems of GCSC, which were nearing crisis proportions in 1968, the year McAndrew was appointed and one year after Hatcher was elected. This burden, though, may have been a blessing in that it diverted everyone's attention for a few years while Hatcher replaced the old board.

Hatcher's first appointment to the board was a black, Frederick Ford, a money manager by trade and an accountant by training. Many feel that this appointment in 1968 was Hatcher's best appointment ever to the GCSC Board. Hatcher reappointed Ford for a second four-year term and wanted to appoint him for a third term. Ford, however, refused the appointment.

There was some controversy regarding Ford's first appointment. The old board argued that Hatcher failed to make an appointment within 30 days as required by policy; therefore, the power to make the appointment reverted to the board. However, Ford was so highly regarded by members of the board that he was also their choice to complete the unexpired term of a member who had moved out of town.

Long-time observers of GCSC Boards believe that shortly after his appointment, Ford became a leader, and he maintained a position of influence throughout his eight years of service. Hatcher agrees: "Fred's leadership was critical." But McAndrew feels that Ford, his close personal friend, was not only a leader, but also "the key man on the board."

Ford's appointment was important because it completed the triangle of influence between the mayor, the board, and the school superintendent. Vested in Hatcher, Ford, and McAndrew, three men with remarkably similar personalities, was all the power needed to act boldly and decisively in a variety of areas including the Banneker performance contract experiment that attracted international attention and eventually affected the achievement of Banneker students.

Ford was considered the board's natural leader, and this role was not difficult for him, given Hatcher's other appointments. Hatcher appointed persons who would work well together and with McAndrew and who would reflect Gary's racial and ethnic diversity. Hence, he appointed two more blacks and a Mexican-American, all of whom shared values and concerns similar to those of McAndrew and Ford.

Emily Caldwell, a black woman, was Hatcher's second appointee to the board. Hatcher thought it was important to have a woman on the board, and even though she was demure, she resolved "to take responsibility for the education of Gary's children" and stood firm with her more aggressive male counterparts when the board's decisions generated controversy.

A. D. "Al" Holliday II was Hatcher's third appointee. Holliday is a physician with a passion for diagnosing and trying to cure the ills that afflicted and still afflict Gary's schools. He is bright, articulate, and aggressive. To Hatcher, a man not born in Gary, Holliday represented ties to Gary's old-line families and its black aristocracy. Although he lacks a princely bearing, Holliday has the spirit of a prince wanting to defeat evil and do good—the perfect person to lead many of the frontal assaults McAndrew and this board would make on the problems of the Gary schools.

These three Hatcher appointments gave McAndrew a majority on the board, but Hatcher increased it by adding the tough-minded, plain-talking Joe Torres, a supervisor for U.S. Steel. The Torres appointment was surprising in that he had campaigned against Hatcher and criticized the Gary schools more stridently than had Holliday, if that were possible. But Hatcher's feeling about Torres was, "It's good for people who are critical to have an opportunity to see if they can do better."

With this fourth appointment in 1970, Hatcher gave McAndrew a board that McAndrew called "ready for anything." Very shortly, the board and McAndrew would use the opportunity Hatcher gave them to try and do something better at Banneker Elementary School.

The Programs: Guess What Happened at Dinner?

By 1970 McAndrew's problem was what to do with that majority he enjoyed on the board. His own appointment and Hatcher's new board appointments raised expectations; everyone thought something was going to happen. But what? Ford knew that the board and McAndrew had to do something "massive and significant"; Torres felt that "definite changes" had to be made; and Holliday thought the board should "plant a symbolic bomb" to reverse the system's "defeatist attitude." However, what to do remained a nagging question for McAndrew and the board that was "ready for anything."

During the early months of that same year, McAndrew, Ford, and Montague Oliver, a former GCSC board member and current director of GCSC Developmental Programs, attended a meeting in San Francisco for school board members and their officers. Walking around the exhibit hall, they saw a display for Behavioral Research Laboratories (BRL) and decided to chat with its representative because the GCSC was using BRL materials for Project Read and Project Math, two programs for low-achieving students. The BRL representative, George Stern, spent some time talking with these men about Gary's problems and potential and about the board's desire to make the schools more accountable.

That evening over dinner Stern made a unique proposal: If GCSC would allow BRL to run an entire elementary school and pay BRL the GCSC's average per-pupil cost for each child attending the school, then BRL would guarantee the GCSC month-by-month progress in reading and math for each child attending the school. The attractive feature of the Stern proposal was that BRL would *refund* to the GCSC its average per-pupil cost for any student who failed to make month-by-month progress in reading and math. Thus was born the idea of performance contracting at Banneker.

Although giving control of a public school to a private corporation was a radical idea then (and even now), McAndrew and the board gave Stern's proposal serious consideration for three reasons. First, BRL and the GCSC already enjoyed a satisfactory relationship through Project Read and Project Math. Second, there was a national movement for educational accountability, and educators, federal bureaucrats, and the public were willing to explore performance contracts of all kinds as ways to achieve accountability. Finally, McAndrew and the board had the mandate to sail on "uncharted seas" due to the poor performance of GCSC students on standardized tests. Thus, on 8 September 1970, the GCSC Board approved a resolution that allowed Banneker to open that month as the nation's first (and so far its last) contracted curriculum center. Several weeks later, GCSC Board President Holliday and Secretary Torres signed the formal agreement between the GCSC and BRL, even though the Indiana superintendent of public instruction objected and the president of the Gary Teachers Union (GTU) threatened "to close schools down" with a strike.

"The Best Thing That Ever Happened to Banneker"

Although the board considered several schools, it selected Banneker as the site of the BRL contracted curriculum center because it was a low-achieving, black elementary school and because Banneker parents lobbied to have BRL at their school. Of course, other schools had these same characteristics, but some say the board tilted toward Banneker because Dorothy Ford, wife of board member Ford, was a teacher at Banneker.

Throughout the summer of 1970, support for BRL at Banneker came from the citywide PTA, the *Post-Tribune* (Gary's local paper), and Mayor Hatcher. There was national interest in the project; reporters, professors of education, and school superintendents flooded the GCSC with requests for information, interviews, and opportunities to visit Banneker School. Even the NBC "Today" show invited McAndrew to explain this innovation to a national television audience. During this period, the collective confidence of McAndrew and the board regarding prospects for success of BRL at Banneker was at its highest point, but it began to fall as McAndrew and the board struggled with events over which they had little control.

First, BRL was not fully prepared to implement and maintain a nongraded, individualized instructional system. At a recent reunion, McAndrew and the board pointed out that BRL did not attend to those small but important details of program planning and implementation that often mean the difference between success and failure. Moreover, BRL appointed a center manager who had little experience implementing and managing educational programs. He was a systems analyst who had worked for a major aerospace manufacturing firm. He and the principal at Banneker did not work well together; the next year both were replaced.

Second, from the outset the GTU opposed the BRL contract. The union's only weapon was the "GTU-GCSC Agreement." Based upon it, the GTU filed grievances over the "forced" transfer of teachers and BRL's differentiated staffing scheme. It also threatened to strike over the issue of class size at Banneker, and even planned to ask the court to declare the BRL-GCSC contract illegal. These and other actions created uncertainty and added to the problems with which the board and McAndrew had to cope. While the board could delay disposition of GTU claims, at some point accommodations would have to be made, and they were. According to Marvin Setzer, a ranking GTU official who looks and talks like a lawyer, these accommodations helped to improve the BRL program. He may be right, but reaching these accommodations over such issues as class size created confusion, which did not help BRL's prospects for success.

Third, although the GCSC Board felt it could handle the GTU, it did not feel as confident about its ability to handle Indiana's state educational establishment. This feeling was justified, because the initial concern of state officials about the BRL-GCSC contract quickly hardened into a definite position: BRL could not control Banneker. There was a series of discussions and then confrontations, but eventually the State enforced its position, and BRL became a "consultant" at Banneker School. However, all the wrangling between the GCSC and the State over the issue of control and other issues related to Indiana's education laws created headlines and uncertainty. At one point, for example, the Indiana State Board of Education almost decommmissioned Banneker. Only the maneuvering of State Board Member and GCSC Principal Richard Barack to gather eight of 14 votes needed to defeat a decommission resolution saved Banneker.

Finally, when McAndrew released the first year's results prepared by the Center for Urban Redevelopment in Education, they first created a stir, then confusion. The press release stated that 72.5% of students at Banneker made month-by-month or better gains in reading, mathematics, or both. Needless to say, this created quite a stir, but Sandra Irons, GTU president, held a press conference and pointed out that BRL guaranteed month-by-month progress in reading *and* math and not reading *or* math. Hence, the 72.5% figure was misleading in terms of what BRL promised to do. Robert Bhaerman, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) director of research, confirmed Iron's view and added that only 35% of Banneker students made month-by-month progress in *both* content areas. These divergent views of BRL's success at Banneker caused confusion, because if the AFT and GTU were right, then BRL owed the GCSC more money than it had already refunded. However, the board, BRL, and McAndrew did not revise the percentage from which the amount of the refund would be calculated. This led to bitter and libelous charges that McAndrew and GCSC board members held stock in BRL. These charges soured the atmosphere and undercut the credibility of the board, McAndrew, and BRL.

Given the foregoing events, it is amazing that BRL survived at Banneker to start a second year, but it did, and under the leadership of Brian Fitch, BRL's new center manager, and Sherman Newell, the new GCSC principal (or learning director as BRL called him), teachers worked for five weeks in the summer of 1971 preparing instructional objectives and materials. Most teachers felt that this activity helped to draw the program together and prepare them for the second year.

The second year began with high expectations. But a GTU strike over matters not directly related to BRL at Banneker kept children out of school for 22 days. This disruption in the program caused the guarantee provision of the contract between BRL and the GCSC to be voided; therefore, the board lost what it had hoped to achieve by signing the contract—accountability.

As GCSC entered the third and final year of its contract, McAndrew and the board began to become disenchanted with BRL. Test scores indicated some progress but nothing like the progress they dreamed about in the early months of 1970. Also, BRL irritated McAndrew and the board because it was using Gary's name and the Banneker project to market its materials in other cities. Then, enrollment at Banneker dipped below 700, a minimum number stipulated in the contract. Citing this decline in enrollment and the strike that voided the guarantee provision the previous year, McAndrew recommended to the board that it terminate its relationship with BRL. In December 1972, two weeks before Christmas, the GCSC Board gave BRL a present—it voted 4 to 0 to end its contract.

After the board voted to end the contract, Fred Ford was quoted as saying that BRL's contract was an experiment "to see if the incentive of business would improve education . . . . If you do a good job, you get a raise; if you don't, you get canned . . . . Well, they're [BRL] getting canned." Although the GCSC Board "canned" BRL with only six months remaining on its contract, Bill Wallace, GCSC supervisor of instructional media services, thinks that "BRL was the best thing that ever happened to Banneker," because it forced the teachers to work together and taught them how to develop, implement, and maintain a nongraded, individualized instructional system. This was one of BRL's goals, and the program used at Banneker today is a refined version of the one introduced by BRL and modified by Fitch and Banneker's teachers during the summer of 1971. Thus, BRL won the war even though it retreated from the battlefield, for the implementation of the BRL instructional system is one event which, many knowledgeable observers claim, has helped to facilitate the reading and math performance of Banneker students over the last six years.

The Board Rides Again

The BRL project at Banneker officially ended 1 January 1973; however, the board and McAndrew did not forget why the board signed a contract with BRL: It wanted to make the school system more accountable for the performance of students. Naturally, it never planned to use performance contracts to accomplish this purpose throughout the city even if BRL had been an unqualified success. It simply wanted to find mechanisms that would help insure that Gary's graduates would have the skills to compete successfully for educational and employment opportunities.

About a year after BRL left Gary, there was a California court case that created as much interest among educators as did BRL. A high school graduate asserting that his illiteracy was his school's fault filed a suit for $1,000,000 against the San Francisco Unified School District. The *Peter Doe* case stimulated a rash of articles and reports analyzing the implications of this case for practices in the schools. It also provided the impetus for McAndrew to recommend to the board a proposal that would *deny* high school diplomas to seniors who could not demonstrate basic competence in reading, writing, and mathematics. It approved the proposal in September 1974, with implementation to be effected with 1977 graduates who would have to demonstrate reading and math competence by passing specially constructed exams.

Several school systems used some type of exit exam, but few systems then (and now) used one to certify seniors for graduation. Again, reporters, university professors, foundation types, and representatives from other school districts returned to Gary to find out what McAndrew was doing now. As with BRL, what he was doing had serious implications for the curriculum, and he knew it.

From the outset of his tenure in Gary, McAndrew wanted to make instruction more systematic and staff more accountable for the results of their efforts. He tried to do this at Banneker with BRL and now he planned to do this throughout the entire system with his "Competencies I." He knew that if his plan to deny diplomas was to withstand court scrutiny, GCSC staff would have to develop instructional objectives and educational activities linked to the skills measured by the competency exams, and also to develop systems to identify and remediate students who need help. Thus, the competency requirements motivated staff to consider carefully what was to be taught and how, and the competency exams provided a measure of accountability for staff.

While other elementary school faculties investigated how they would include the instructional objectives and materials of Competencies I throughout the grades, the Banneker faculty simply made these objectives and materials a part of the content of its nongraded, individualized instructional system. Competencies I programs were a natural extension of what the Banneker faculty had been doing for several years, and since it knew the vocabulary of instruction by objectives, it was easy for it to implement, for example, a program of testing and remediation of whole-number operations. Hence, Competencies I programs served to improve Banneker's strong but flexible system of instruction by adding new instructional objectives and materials.

Competencies I seems to be having a positive effect on the test scores of all of Gary's elementary students; however, it seems to be having a greater effect upon the scores of Banneker students. If the system's scores are held constant by plotting only the differences* between Banneker's and the system's scores for 13 years, Figures 1 and 2 show that since BRL ended and Competencies I started, Banneker students have, on the average, outperformed the system.

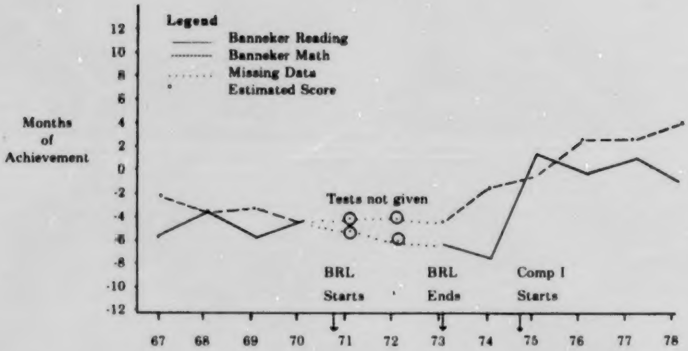

Fig. 1. A plot of differences between Banneker's fourth-grade reading and math Iowa scores and those for the system. Data missing for Banneker in 1971 due to special BRL testing program and data missing for entire system in 1972 due to prolonged teachers strike.

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*We plot only the differences as a way to achieve order in the data. We use this device because over the years the GCSC has changed the year or the month it tested children in reading and math. For example, from 1973 to 1979 it tested in the fourth and sixth grades for reading, and from 1973 to 1975 it tested in the third and fifth grades for math. Then, in 1979 it used 6.1 as the norm, while in the three preceding years it used 6.8. Such diversity requires that we establish a zero reference for the system and plot the differences in months of grade equivalence scores for Banneker school.

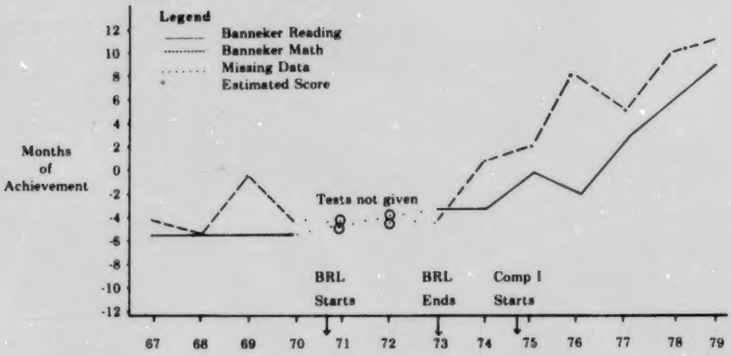

Fig. 2. A plot of the differences between Banneker's sixth-grade reading and math Iowa scores and those for the system. Data missing for Banneker 1971 due to special testing program, and data missing for entire system in 1972 due to prolonged teachers strike.

Can we attribute Banneker's success over the last six years to its instructional system—one introduced by BRL, refined and modified by Fitch and the Banneker staff, and reinforced by Competencies I programs? No doubt, the implementation of a nongraded, individualized system was a critical event, but was the implementation of that system nine years ago the decisive event that turned Banneker around? There are also some changing demographic factors to consider.

The Demographic Dimension: Small Farms in a City*

Banneker is located in an area popularly known as the "small farms." It has this name because many blacks, who moved north to Gary during the thirties to work in the region's industries, settled there and supplemented their incomes by truck farming. Over the years, however, the area deteriorated due to several reasons, including the construction of the 80-94 interstate highway, which caused the water table in the area to be in a continual flood state. This is ironic, for city dwellers often traveled to the small farms to get "good, clear, spring" water.

Another section of the area developed in a different way. During World War II large sections of the small farms were developed for housing. But, given the shortages of quality materials and skilled workers during the war, these areas of development became "instant slums." To compound the problems of poor materials and construction, some developers sold homes to many blacks who were financially unable to keep up payments and maintain the poorly constructed homes.

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*Information prepared by the Department of Redevelopment and supplied by Richard Rockwell, deputy executive secretary, was used extensively in this section.

By 1966 almost a third of the area's dwelling units were considered to be substandard. Moreover, the area, which was never intended for full development, had woefully inadequate sewer and water facilities. Something had to be done to make this a viable section of an urban community. In 1965 former Gary mayor A. Martin Katz marshalled local and federal forces for a massive redevelopment of the area.

The Department of Redevelopment, City of Gary, began to acquire and demolish homes within the Banneker district in 1972. Over a six-year period, it demolished about 20% of the homes in Banneker's district, or about 200 homes. Census data indicate that these homes had 1.4 children between the ages of 5 and 12; thus, in six years Banneker lost about 280 children from poor families, or about a third of its 1970-71 enrollment.

Studies tend to confirm that academic performance is significantly correlated with socioeconomic status (SES), and some assert that the academic progress of Banneker is related to the decline in the percent of indigent children attending the school and not because of its instructional system introduced by BRL, modified by Fitch, and reinforced by Competencies I. This assertion requires investigation, because if it is correct, then Banneker's progress over the last six years may not be so exceptional after all.

Let's Look at the Record

It is true that the percentage of indigent students has declined dramatically over the last five years. In 1974-75 nearly 50% of Banneker's students were indigent, while in 1978-79 the percentage had dropped to 18%. This decline was due in great part to the Small Farms Redevelopment; however, there are other events beyond redevelopment that explain why Banneker's percentage of indigent toppled.

After BRL left, its instructional system remained. The unique individualized program attracted some children from nonindigent homes outside the Banneker district, but it did not attract enough of these children, and administrators talked privately about closing Banneker due to low enrollment (411 in 1973-74).

Rather than shut it down, the West Side Early Learning Center opened at Banneker and utilized some of the available space. Then the new principal recruited some of this program's preschool children from nonindigent homes outside of the Banneker district. This effort increased the number of children but not enough of offset Banneker's repidly declining enrollment (297 in 1975-76) due to redevelopment and the low birthrate.

Then, a second program was placed at Banneker to use the available space. Starting in 1976 the Gifted and Talented Program brought to Banneker some of Gary's brightest children from some of Gary's best families. Children from this program as well as those recruited from the early learning program caused Banneker's percent of out-of-district children to jump from 13.6% of enrollment in 1974-75 to 52.4 in 1978-79. Thus, while Banneker lost indigent children due primarily to Small Farms Redevelopment, it gained mostly nonindigent children from outside its district.

To conclude that this shift in SES caused Banneker's gains in academic achievement is not appropriate, because the shift in SES occurred mostly in the primary grades and not in the upper elementary grades. Yet when rising academic progress over the last five years is plotted for the upper grades, the overwhelming majority of these higher SES students had not yet reached the fourth grade.

In addition, consider the following: Banneker made its great leap in academic progress in 1974-75, the year when nearly 50% of its students were indigent. Even when SES is controlled as a variable, systematic increases in academic performance at Banneker can be observed. Further, an analysis of 1978-79 sixth-grade scores shows that there are no meaningful differences among in-district, out-of-district, and indigent students. All three groups performed at or above the national norms in reading and mathematics. Also, it is interesting to note that GCSC had a decline in the percentage of indigent students similar to Banneker's; yet, Banneker students gained on and eventually outperformed the system as a whole.

Although Small Farms Redevelopment and the shift in SES are important events in the history of Banneker, the implementation of the BRL instructional program seems to be a more important factor in the rising achievement of Banneker's students.

Small Is Beautiful

Another demographic event that appears to have had an effect upon the academic progress of Banneker is its decline in enrollment. As enrollment declined, achievement increased. This decline in enrollment contributed to the development of an atmosphere at Banneker that facilitates its instructional system and makes feasible the close monitoring of student progress by Banneker's principal and curriculum coordinator.

There is order everywhere at Banneker, but because the school is small (433 students), the staff does not have to impose a rigid system of discipline. There are no written rules posted on the wall or list of punishments for transgressors. Adults share a set of expectations for the behavior and achievement of children, and children get the message and act accordingly. Thus, even though there is order everywhere, the atmosphere is purposeful—not repressive. Whether the Banneker staff could achieve such a purposeful atmosphere in a much larger school is uncertain.

Of course, the instructional system also facilitates a purposeful atmosphere. Children understand what they are supposed to do, and what they are supposed to do they can do, because placement tests are used to locate children on the variable of instruction. Hence, everyone works at his/her level and pace.

Small size also seems to affect the amount of time Banneker's principal and curriculum coordinator can spend checking and rechecking the progress of students as they work their way through the instructional system—a system built on the ideas of Ralph Tyler, Robert Mager, and Benjamin Bloom. It uses instructional objectives organized from simple to complex, pretests for placement and posttests to ascertain student mastery, and an individual instructional prescription based upon the pretests. All of this is set into a nongraded, individualized format to allow for self-pacing.

What makes this program work is the amount of time and energy the principal and curriculum coordinator spend keeping track of and checking up on the progress of each and every student in the school. Of course, the teaching staff is primarily responsible for this monitoring, but the principal emphasizes the constant checking and rechecking to make certain that students not only master new objectives but also retain mastery over objectives already learned. The curriculum coordinator uses a massive chart to plot the progress of every child in the school. The principal constantly reviews this chart as well as checks folders, tests children, and even teaches children who need special attention. She and her curriculum coordinator would not likely be able to maintain such close scrutiny in a larger school.

Although Banneker's purposeful atmosphere and the staff's close monitoring of student progress can be attributed to its size, these outcomes are really only two manifestations of the family climate that exists at Banneker. In a good family, members share common values and goals, assume their responsibilities, and watch over one another. This describes Banneker. Thus, small size gave the Banneker staff an opportunity to create a family atmosphere, and the staff seized this opportunity and made the most of it.

The People: The Ford-Green Machine

In 1974 McAndrew appointed a new principal at Banneker. Some say that he appointed a new principal because the former one did not share his and the staff's desire to maintain and improve the nongraded, individualized program. His new appointee did cause some grumbling in the community, for it was Dorothy Ford, wife of Fred Ford, board member and close personal friend of McAndrew.

After years of service teaching at Banneker, Dorothy Ford had considered leaving teaching or at least reducing the number of hours she worked as a resource teacher (a position gained by a vote of Banneker teachers). Hence, she had no plans to become Banneker's next principal. Moreover, McAndrew really did not consider Ford until several teachers recommended her and told him that she held a principal's license. It is clear, then, that McAndrew did not remove the former principal so he could appoint the wife of his friend, as some critics succested. He simply wanted someone to make his dream of an exemplary, nongraded, individualized program at Banneker come true. He selected Ford because she was acceptable to the Banneker staff, and she knew the program and was determined to maintain and improve it.

McAndrew's selection of Ford was a wise one. Since she assumed the principalship at Banneker, its fourth- and sixth-grade reading and math scores have gained dramatically on the national norms. Although BRL and Small Farms Redevelopment are critical events that contributed to Banneker's achievement surge prior to Ford's appointment, virtually everyone agrees that Ford's appointment was another important event that contributed greatly to Banneker's successful performance. Ford, though, is modest; she gives major credit to her staff and only claims to have promoted programs, organizational arrangements, and conditions that helped to make a good, hard-working staff a little more effective.

One element that helped to make teachers "a little more effective" is Marian Green, the curriculum coordinator. Green not only supplies teachers with materials they need to keep the nongraded, individualized program humming along, but she also participates in the close monitoring of each child's progress, develops and/or finds new materials to include in the program, helps to train aides, works with teachers in their classrooms, and worries about how to expand units and to extend the entire system to accommodate fast and slow students. Having a person like Green to perform these and many other tasks enables the teachers and the principal to concentrate on the task of working directly with children.

Although Green is technically a resource teacher selected for this position by the Banneker staff, she also serves in a quasi-administrative capacity. In this position she is a liaison between the teachers and Ford. Thus she not only facilitates the technical aspects of the program, but also is involved in the interpersonal aspects of maintaining and improving the program. She uses her position to help keep the teachers and Ford working effectively together, for she is a friend and servant of both.

"We're So Fortunate to Have These Teachers"

Spending an hour or so with Banneker's faculty would lead anyone to conclude that it is *the* reason that Banneker has made such progress over the last five or six years. It would be difficult to find another faculty whose members are so similar in their dedication, disposition, creativity, skill, and intelligence. Ford states "We're so fortunate to have these teachers."

Teachers average 13.7 years of service at Banneker, and this means that many of them taught at Banneker during the lean as well as the good years. Something happened to help make this an effective faculty. BRL was one critical event; it forced teachers to work together and pull together as they had never done before. After the nongraded, individualized program was implemented, teachers became a part of a team whose instructional strategy was well-defined by objectives and was facilitated by materials specifically designed for those objectives. Such structure reduced the burden of preparing materials and allowed teachers to concentrate on teaching and monitoring children. These benefits and the progress children were making probably explain why Banneker teachers resisted efforts to return to the old, self-contained system after BRL.

BRL also introduced the concept of learning supervisors (aides.)* After BRL, the teachers at Banneker wanted to continue the program, and since McAndrew wanted to continue it also, he found money to retain the learning supervisors at Banneker. This caused a stir, and some other schools wondered why they could not have learning supervisors too. McAndrew silenced the rumblings by offering aides to any school that would adopt Banneker's program, but there were no takers.

Teachers at Banneker think so highly of the contribution learning supervisors make that they believe that neither they nor the program would be as effective without them. Some even assert that it would be impossible to operate an individualized program without them due to the amount of attention each child requires in such a program. Thus, learning supervisors make an important contribution, and Ford makes every effort to communicate to them how very important they are to the success of the "Banneker Family."

Teachers generally acknowledge that the appointment of Dorothy Ford was a second event that helped to make them more effective. As principal, she sees her role as the instructional leader of the school. She spends much of her day visiting classes, talking with teachers, and consulting with Marian Green. Sometimes, she spends the entire day in one class substituting for an absent teacher so she can evaluate how well the program is working. She meets regularly with the Banneker Curriculum Council, a teachers' group that sets and implements instructional policy. Moreover, she uses her faculty meetings to discuss instructional problems or present instructional policy. Thus, she is deeply involved with every phase of the instructional program, but she does not "run" it; she leads it by sharing the power to make decisions and by sharing the responsibility for the progress of children.

Teachers also acknowledge that by her disciplinary actions, Ford helped to create an atmosphere conducive to effective teaching and learning. She is fair but very firm, or as one student said, "She is strict but not very mean." After five years, students have such respect for her that when she walks into the lunchroom, they stop talking for an instant just in case she has an announcement to make. She can silence a crowded assembly of Banneker students with a look, for she tolerates no foolishness and expects her teachers to tolerate none. To Ford, teachers should teach and children should learn, and nothing should adversely affect these activities.

Finally, it would not be appropriate to conclude from the foregoing that BRL and Dorothy Ford *made* this faculty as effective as it is today. Among the critical events facilitating Banneker's progress is a core group of faculty members who had a vision of what Banneker could be. They took advantage of every opportunity to make that vision a reality.

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*Teachers at Banneker rarely use the term teacher's aide, for they feel that it does not communicate the important role these paraprofessionals play. Hence, they use the terms learning supervisor or co-teacher.

This group worked effectively to modify BRL's program during the summer of 1971; it worked to keep the program at Banneker after BRL left; and it accepted one of its own, Dorothy Ford, as the next Banneker principal and then supported her.

Some Secret Weapons

The Banneker staff thinks of itself as a family. In a family, every member is important. Each makes a contribution to the success of the entire unit. There are several important but often overlooked members of the Banneker family who have contributed to Banneker's success.

Like Ford, Irma Jones, the school secretary, came to Banneker when it opened. She is very efficient and keeps the flow of reports and records moving in an orderly manner. Due to her efficiency and good judgment, she frees Ford from her desk, allowing her to concentrate her energy facilitating the instruction of children. Ford feels that Jones is more than a secretary—she is a friend to whom she can turn for advice. Without Jones, it is clear that Ford could not spend as much time as she does working with the program.

Ford likes to back up every position with alternate personnel so the program will not be disrupted by the absence of a staff member. Everyone knows his/her job and someone else's too. Jacob Morris, a teacher with many years of service at Banneker and one of only two male teachers in the building, is Ford's backup. When she leaves the building, he is the acting principal. Due to his skill and judgment, she never worries that the process of teaching and learning will be adversely affected by her absence.

If every child needs a grandfather, each Banneker child has one in Henry Black, a retiree who provides security services. This man loves children and loves to work for Ford at Banneker. His job of maintaining order is made easier by Ford's reputation for taking swift and decisive disciplinary action. He claims that all he has to do to settle a group of children is to say, "I'm going to put Mrs. Ford on you." But Ford feels very fortunate to have Black in the building, because he works well with children and is willing to stay late in the day to supervise out-of-district children waiting for a ride home. That he does his job so well removes a burden from Ford's shoulders. She trusts Black to always do what is right and good for children.

Ford believes that Banneker is successful because the entire staff is involved with the children. Robert Morris, the head custodian, is an example of this involvement. He is articulate and clear-thinking and shares his wisdom with children as a favorite uncle does. His major responsibility is to maintain the building, but he also supervises children in the halls and lunchroom. His latest campaign is directed toward getting children to eat their vegetables and drink their milk, so "they will learn better."

Finally , there is Gladys Bronaugh, or "Miss Gladys," as the children call her. She is in charge of the cafeteria and is another example of the staff's total involvement. She takes great care in the preparation of the lunch, trying always to find ways to make it more appealing. Then, with a smile on her face and love in her eyes, she serves children food that is very hot or very cold, depending on "how it's suppose to be." After she finishes serving, she moves from table to table teaching children table manners, finding out how they like the lunch, and urging them to eat all their food. She does all of this because she believes that children cannot perform in the classroom if they have had a poor lunch or no lunch at all. Since "Miss Gladys" arrived at Banneker three years ago, the number of lunches sold has increased and the amount of waste has decreased.

These people are not critical incidents in a research sense, but they deserve comment in this case history because they have made a contribution to Banneker by doing their jobs well and extending themselves to help Ford and the instructional staff do their jobs well. Too often, though, the contributions of these staffers are overlooked; but not here, for they are some secret weapons that helped Banneker win its battle with the national norms.

No Room to Park, No Place to Sit

Item: *Several parents arrive late to Banneker's first PTA meeting of the 1978-79 school year and discover that there is no room to park near the school and no place to sit in the meeting room.*

Item: *Ford invites 25 parents to an informal meeting to discuss Banneker's progress over the last five years and hopes that 10 or maybe even 15 will come. Thirty parents attend the meeting; five more parents heard about the meeting and decided to come too. Several men take off a day of work to attend.*

Item: *Donald Thompson, a Banneker parent, uses one of his vacation weeks to produce and direct the PTA's "Showers of Talent Under the Umbrella," a show with Banneker students that attracts as many as 2,000 people.*

Item: *Roger Riley, a member of the community, coaches the boys' and girls' basketball teams after school without remuneration.*

These items indicate the extent to which Banneker's parents and friends support the school. It has one of the most active PTAs in the city; and parents, teachers, and Mrs. Ford work closely together to reinforce each other's efforts.

The school has an open visitation policy and parents take advantage of it. It is said that Banneker has as many parental visits in a week as other schools have in a year. Parents visit the school so frequently for several reasons. First, they are interested in the progress of their children. Second, Ford and the instructional staff encourage them to visit and find out how the program operates and how their children are doing. Third, when parents visit and inquire about their child's progress, they are not given vague answers like, "She's doing better now." They are given specific information about their child's progress in terms of the objectives of the units. Fourth, if they ask how they can help their child make better progress, either the teacher or Marian Green will give the parents specific instructions to follow and specific materials to be completed by the child. Given these reasons, it is not surprising that there are parents in the building almost every day and that parents urge their friends to send their children to Banneker.

Of course, such parental involvement did not happen overnight. A string of effective PTA presidents, BRL, and Ford's appointment are events that helped to produce the zealous and constructive participation of parents in the affairs of Banneker. But, the civil rights movement of the Sixties may have been the single most important event that produced the deep and abiding commitment of parents to the success of Banneker. Most Banneker parents were either teenagers or young adults during the Sixties, a decade filled with strident and bitter civil rights activities to insure equal opportunities for blacks. As a result of these activities, educational and employment opportunities for young, well-educated blacks are greater today than at any point in history. These parents know this, but they also know that their children must be educationally ready to take advantage of these opportunities. Getting ready starts in the elementary school, for it is the foundation, as Ruthie Cooper, president of Banneker PTA, indicated, or "where children get their start in life," as one Banneker teacher stated. Hence, what fuels parental involvement and also the entire staff's dedication is a dream: That one day the children of the Banneker Family will live the "American Dream."

West Vigo Elementary School
West Terre Haute, Indiana

By

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In the fall of 1960 the voters of Vigo County, Indiana, voted to consolidate the then existing 11 school districts into one consolidated district. Terre Haute, the major city of Vigo County and the county seat, has a population of approximately 72,000; the remainder of the county has an additional 36,000. In January 1961 the school merger became a reality and the new district, the Vigo County School Corporation, was established. At that time there were 34 elementary schools. By the spring of 1979 the 34 elementary schools had been consolidated and, along with new school construction, there are now 22 elementary schools in Vigo County.

Community and School

The school selected for this case study project is the West Vigo Elementary School. As its name implies, the school is located in the western part of the county in the small incorporated city of West Terre Haute, Indiana. The western section of the county is divided from the larger part of the county by the Wabash River.

Located within one block of the river on the east bank are the county courthouse, city hall, county jail, and other government offices. West Terre Haute was founded around the major industry of that area, coal mining, at the turn of the century.

West Vigo Elementary School

If we were to turn back the clock to the turn of the century and start a journey westward from Terre Haute across the Wabash River (made famous by local song writer Paul Dresser) and look north or south up and down the river, one could see belching smokestacks and mine tipples. The smokestacks rose from the boiler rooms that generated the power to operate the hoisting cages which moved day and night up and down the deep shafts of the coal mines. West Terre Haute was a booming mining community during the period from 1900 through 1929, and the boom atmosphere spread across the river to Terre Haute. Trains came from all directions to load the coal and transport it to many parts of the country.

Immigrants poured into Vigo County. They were English, Welsh, Irish, Scottish, and Austrian. They had migrated from the Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal fields into Indiana.

The boom town atmosphere of the West Terre Haute region continued until the 1929 stock market crash and the following depression era. The smokestacks lining the Wabash River stopped pouring forth their clouds of smoke; the mine cages no longer moved up and down the shafts. The great shaft mining industry came to a complete stop. In West Terre Haute many lived with the hope that soon the mine shafts would reopen and the boom days would return. As hard times got harder, the decline of the community became evident. It was a scrambling existence. People lost their homes and could no longer pay rent. Shanty towns started cropping up along the banks of the river. Flat-bottom houseboats appeared on the river. This movement toward the river was in order to take advantage of the next natural resource from which to make a living: people dredged the river for mussel shells and cast their lines to catch the river fish for the market.

Adjacent to the Wabash River was land that frequently flooded. People moved onto this undesirable land and built crude shelters. Many of these crude dwellings are still occupied today; however, the annual flooding problem was rectified in the 1960s when the Army Corps of Engineers developed levees and up-water dams to control the flooding.

So West Terre Haute, after the closing of the mines following the stock market crash and the subsequent depression era, became a city waiting and hoping for a revival. The people whose roots were deep in the community held on to the dream that tomorrow the bustling mining community would return. The tomorrow never came. The mines did not return, nor was there any industrial development in the community. The area became one of low socioeconomic status. At the time of school reorganization in 1961, the major source of taxing revenue was the Dresser Power Plant of the Indiana Public Service Company.

During the late 1930s under the Works Project Administration, a new school was built in the Dresser district of the West Vigo area. A wooden six-room structure was built with a west view of a smoldering city dump and an east view of a slaughterhouse on the banks of the river, and the only good thing that could be said about the building was that it served as a prototype for the military barracks constructed during World War II. The children attended a school facility that reflected the same depressing environment as the one in which they resided.

Another elementary school at the time of reorganization was housed in the former West Terre Haute high school building. This was an old and inadequate facility for an elementary school.

The third elementary school was actually housed in two buildings. One was called South Elementary School and the other Central Elementary School. Neither building had enough rooms to house grades 1 through 6. The South Elementary School atmosphere was depressing. It had poor ventilation, narrow hallways, wooden floors; the doors were rough-hewn solid panels. The children hung their coats on hooks. Students entered the building in three shifts so that coats were piled on the hooks three-deep. The teachers dismissed their groups in reverse order to peel the wraps off the hooks. The facility was, to say the least, not one conducive to learning. The Central School, which housed the primary grades, was little improvement over South School.

Profile of West Vigo Elementary School

In 1970 plans finally got under way to build a new school in the West Terre Haute area. It was unfortunate at this time that community and staff were not involved in the planning. The administration relied upon the services of educational planning personnel to develop the new school.

The attitude seemed to be that we, the decision makers, recognize a need for a new school and know what is best for the community. Naturally, the people of the West Terre Haute area were delighted to get a new school. So plans were made to build a basic 24-room unit for the West Terre Haute area and construction began. At the same time, other schools were being built; therefore, people in West Terre Haute were aware of the type of construction going on in other areas of the county. The planners of the West Terre Haute school had chosen an architectural design with a stucco exterior and a tile roof, reminiscent of a Mexican hacienda. But this was Indiana! The West Terre Haute people were incensed because they felt that a stucco structure was certainly less desirable than the brick structures being built east of the river. Even though they would soon have a very beautiful and educationally efficient facility, there were negative attitudes toward the structure even before it was completed.

The move into the building was carried out with no preplanning by staff. In fact, the principal was not selected until two weeks before the move. There was also community dissension over the designation of the principal. With three schools merging into the new building, only one principal would be selected. The person designated had not been a long-standing member of the community, as was one of the other candidates.

Teachers and students reported to the new building with absolutely no opportunity for any cooperative planning. The design of the building was flexible and allowed cooperative teaching space, but no educational planning had taken place regarding how best to utilize the facility. To say the least, both students and faculty were in awe of their new environment. Once the staff moved into the building, it became aware that good educational planning had been used in designing the facility even though the staff had not been involved.

The students enrolling in the new school were, and are now, all Caucasian. A large portion of the student population is economically disadvantaged, as indicated by the fact that 35% of the children qualify for free or reduced-cost breakfast and lunch programs. This is the highest percentage of any school in the county. Furthermore, substantial numbers of students come from single-parent or unstable home environments. Sixty families qualify for Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) funds; this is a greater number than any other school in the county. Needless to say, the West Vigo Elementary School is also one of the 13 elementary schools in Vigo County qualifying for ESEA Title I assistance.

The scholastic aptitude scores at West Vigo had consistently been significantly below the county mean and slightly lower than the mean score for all Title I schools. The test scores of basic skills of the children who attended the three schools consolidated into West Vigo Elementary School had consistently been below expectancy.

Accessibility to community resources is limited. West Terre Haute does not have facilties such as cable television for educational programming, neighborhood YMCA, YWCA, Boy's Club, Girl's Club, or outside recreational facilities. The Wabash River seems to be not only a physical separation between the western section of the county and the city of Terre Haute, but it is also a psychological barrier. The facilities provided by the YMCA, Boy's Club, and Indiana State University are all located within a few blocks of the eastern bank of the river. The people from the West Terre Haute area have historically been reluctant to cross over the bridge.

West Vigo Elementary School houses kindergarten through grade 5. The total enrollment is 623. There are two special education classrooms for mildly mentally handicapped children, one classroom for multiply handicapped children, and two classrooms for severely/profoundly handicapped children. The staff consists of 23 teachers in grades K through 5, one librarian, one counselor, one Title I reading teacher, one one part-time psychometrist, 18 Title I teacher aides, four local teacher aides, and 12 part-time volunteer grandparent aides for handicapped children. There are also two educational clerks, four custodians, and nine cafeteria workers.

Faculty, staff, and students spent the first year in the new facility getting used to a totally new educational environment. For the first time they had a full-size library, a large multipurpose room, a cafeteria, a kindergarten, special education facilities, and study and activity areas. But West Vigo was having difficulty identifying its purpose and creating a sense of unity among the staff and students. Many of the frustrations with which the staff were dealing could have been prevented with appropriate planning and staff participation. There was a critical need for the staff to develop a strong emphasis on instruction.

Critical Events in the Evolution of the West Vigo School

The instructional emphasis at the new West Vigo Elementary School was that which existed in each of the three elementary schools prior to the move to the new facility. There had been no time allowed for cooperative planning.

The central office was fortunate in receiving federal funds to implement a three-year research project that would involve the West Vigo Elementary School staff. It was unfortunate that the staff had not been involved in the planning of the project. However, there was a central office edict that the staff would be involved in implementing a new instructional model.

The rationale for the project called MODEL was based upon research that showed a beneficial change could be made if the instructional program were developed around a positive reinforcement model. A new philosophy of pupil management, "Reward the good and ignore the bad," was initiated at the West Vigo Elementary School in 1972, with the expectation of changing teachers' behavior by the end of the three years. It was hypothesized that the use of extrinsic rewards to reinforce motivation would have a positive effect on both social and academic behaviors of students. Up to this time the children were receiving considerably more reinforcement for negative behaviors than for positive behaviors. The model program was designed to enhance the staff's skills in positive reinforcement techniques.

An energetic young man was selected to direct this project. He had a background as a classroom teacher for emotionally disturbed children, elementary school counseling, and educational psychology; but above all he had human qualities that made him a nonthreatening but a very supportive person. He became involved with the administration and staff of the West Vigo Elementary School in the research project that would provide a new emphasis for instruction.

The basic objectives of the project were as follows:

1. Each teacher should have a better understanding and a more humanistic philosophy toward children. Each child will be treated according to his/her needs, and more effort will be made to motivate those children who do not naturally want to learn. The teacher will feel more responsible for those experiencing difficulty and make more specific efforts to help them.

2. The number of positive comments made by teachers will increase. All teachers will emphasize the good things children do and will reward their successes. Poor work and behavior, which was previously criticized, will be ignored and de-emphasized. External, internal, and privilege-type rewards will be used daily to emphasize the good.

3. The teachers' method of instructing will change. Teachers will actually know what behavior modification, contingency contracting, rewards, team teaching, and individualization mean. They will also understand the theory behind these ideas and use them on a day-to-day basis. Most teachers will be using reward systems continuously and keep room partitions open to exchange ideas and students. The fear of using new ideas will decrease.

4. Through team teaching and individualized instruction (and with Title III aides), children may more easily develop positive feelings toward teachers and school because of the more personalized interest

that can be given at specific levels. The children notice this difference themselves. The poor student who has been traditionally left out, pressured, or ignored will be dealt with more consistently as an individual or in a small group. The entire classroom climate will improve as a result of increased positive and successful experiences.

5. Teachers will more readily discuss both successes and failures among themselves and accept ideas of others. There will be a greater feeling of unity and working as a group instead of each teacher feeling like a self-contained unit in his/her classroom. This will be realized as teachers open up and begin sharing students, materials, groupings, etc. This behavior should be an outgrowth of accomplishing the previous four objectives and will show a direct relationship to their success rates.

6. Many more creative reinforcements will be used as motivators. Teachers will not expect all children to come to school with an internalized need to learn. Children will be rewarded in hopes that incentive will increase and they will see a reason for learning.

7. Parents will be rewarded when their children do things well at school. The same general philosophy being used with the children will be tried on the parents. More positive home attitudes about school should develop.

8. The results of West Vigo's instructional program will be examined over a three-year period to see to what extent the teachers have altered their behaviors.

The above-mentioned objectives were in operation at the West Vigo Elementary School for three school years, 1972 to 1975.

The staff at first was resistant to the project objectives. They seemed to convey the attitude, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." This resistance was quite obvious when the extrinsic rewards for desired behaviors became real objects, such as ball-point pens, small games, and flashlights.

At the same time the research project was under way, the Title I services were expanding at West Vigo Elementary School. The Title I program worked with those children who had traditionally not done well because of environmental deficiencies. There were about 10 aides working with this type child at West Vigo. They worked mainly on reading, math, perceptual training, and affective education. (These same services are still being provided to the children currently attending West Vigo.) The goals and objectives of the Title I program were similar to and compatible with the goals of the research project. This was an asset.

Over the three years of the project there was no mandate to follow one particular framework or model but to offer a variety of approaches and to use those that best fit both teacher and individual student personalities. Change in the direction of greater positive reinforcement was the goal. Much effort was made to facilitate the positive change.

The research project would have met with even greater resistance than that initially encountered if it were not for the assistance and support of the building principal. The principal had to meld together the staff members from the three schools consolidated into the new West Vigo Elementary School. He was certainly one of the critical influences on the educational success of the school. The principal operated from a basic humanistic model. He believed in the worthiness of each individual. He totally supported the research project objectives. He encouraged students, parents, and staff and was an invaluable aide to the project director throughout the three years of the program.

Unfortunately, after the project had been completed and the reinforcement being provided by the project director was no longer available, the principal fell victim to what could only be described as professional "burn out." His energies were exhausted during the ensuing year in an attempt to maintain the skills and attitudes initiated through the project. He fell victim to his frustrations created by those who seemed to revert to prior behaviors and attitudes. He requested a transfer to a teaching assignment at the end of the 1975-76 school year and began teaching in another Title I school.

The West Vigo Elementary School had received a tremendous boost in working to implement an effective instructional model. It was like a rocket that had lost its commander after taking off on its initial flight. After the principal's resignation was known, there was great speculation about who his successor would be.

A young man who had been a fifth-grade teacher in the school and who during the 1975-76 school year had served his administrative internship in the school was the prime candidate and ultimately received the appointment. In all honesty, it cannot be said that his appointment was received with a resounding vote of confidence by all the staff. Some of the senior staff were not sure that he had reached an acceptable level of credibility. However, as the new principal became more comfortable in his role, it was increasingly evident that his acceptance by staff was also taking place.

His ability to relate to the community was evident from the beginning of his administration. If parents were reluctant to come into the school and converse on his ground, the principal would without hesitation go to them. This reaching out had no barriers. He would meet with them at home, work, or at the neighborhood tavern if that were the only place he could make contact. It was very evident that he was energetic and was not willing to accept the status quo. His primary interest was the welfare and betterment of the children enrolled in the West Vigo Elementary School.

During this same year a school counselor was added to the staff. His counseling model and personal style were of a humanistic nature. He became very supportive of the affective education components initiated in the school during the early stages of project MODEL.

Also during this same year the staff became involved in an analysis of the existing reading programs. The staff hoped to develop a program based on the tenet that each individual should have the opportunity to become functionally literate and that the school should play an integral part in providing such an opportunity.

The faculty conducted informal surveys, had classroom visitations, analyzed test scores, held grade-level meetings, and obtained program comparisons and input from a professional consultant. Also during the

1976-77 school year a representative committee met regularly to formulate a program that would be implemented at the beginning of the 1977-78 school year.

The recommended program was a three-fold approach to the teaching of reading. It integrated reading for enjoyment, the affective realm of learning, and a skills management system. The committee felt strongly that all of these facets were essential to a well-rounded program. The program is called EAS (Enjoyment; Affective; Skills).

Each facet was designed to meet the specific needs of the students of West Vigo Elementary School.

Enjoyment of Reading

Major Goal:

To develop in each child a purposeful and individually planned lifelong reading habit.

Subgoals:

1. To provide each child with appropriate reading and literature-related activities and experiences, in addition to basal materials.
2. To inventory each child's interests so that reading materials and literature-related experiences that are related to those interests can be provided.
3. To afford a variety of opportunities to discover personal relevance and value in what the child reads, thus developing a positive attitude toward independent reading.

Affective Dimension of Reading

Major Goal:

To develop and maintain in each child a positive self-concept, thus strengthening the child's feelings of personal esteem and adequacy, so that the child's cognitive and affective learning will be more efficient and lasting.

Subgoals:

1. To demonstrate in words and actions genuine kindness and concern for every child regardless of his/her successes or failures.
2. To nurture a classroom atmosphere that develops mutual respect between teacher and students and students and their classmates.
3. To exhibit patience and acceptance toward students' mistakes and students' problems.
4. To demonstrate warmth, respect, and acceptance that may serve as an example for students to follow.
    a. By being concerned with each student's personal interests, hobbies, and accomplishments.
    b. By taking time to listen with empathy to what students say.
    c. By avoiding having favorites or scapegoats.

d. By showing courtesty to all students.

e. By being helpful with students' personal as well as academic concerns.

f. By avoiding behaviors that embarrass, discredit, or humiliate students.

g. By smiling at or making some positive, personal comment to each child every day.

5. To use effective discipline rather than punishment or criticism for inappropriate behavior.

6. To allow students to participate in setting and maintaining standards of behavior.

7. To gain classroom cooperation and positive interaction by holding class discussions about being helpful and friendly to others, and to maintain good classroom organization and healthy classroom interaction.

8. To help students recognize that all people have strengths and weaknesses.

9. To help students learn to be accepting of mistakes by stressing that mistakes are normal, not to be feared, and potentially constructive. Be a good model; be willing to acknowledge mistakes.

10. To set realistic goals for each student so that the student is not pressured to do work that he/she is incapable of doing or that is below the student's level of achievement.

11. To allow children to be themselves by exposing them to many learning experiences while remembering that all children will not be equally enthusiastic about everything.

12. To accept the child's right to be different from other children in the family and to remember that each will not have the same strengths and weaknesses.

13. To help parents to understand and to accept each child's right to be different from his/her peers and other children in the family.

14. To seek and use classroom procedures that strengthen learning experiences and minimize the stigma of performing below grade level.

a. By selecting basal materials to which the student has not previously been exposed, no matter how brief that exposure.

b. By using varied materials, learning centers, and other techniques that allow for flexibility in all student activities so that students may be involved in different projects or in the same project at varying levels of difficulty.

c. By varying groups whenever possible so students are not always working with a low group.

d. By supplying a troublesome word for a child reading orally before a group when reading for content and comprehension so that the line of thought is not broken and so that the child is not embarrassed and frustrated. The teacher should make mental or written note of the word so appropriate instruction can be provided at a later time.

15. To express to parents at least one positive comment about their child at every opportunity, be it a written or verbal communication.

16. To use evaluation of a child's progress to encourage the child.

a. By avoiding the comparison of one student's work with other student's work.

b. By comparing a child's previous and current work.

c. By marking papers with the number of right answers rather than the number of wrong (e.g. +13 rather than -2).

17. To implement and evaluate affective training activities on a regular schedule.

Skills Goals

The skills dimension of the EAS reading program includes 90 performance objectives, distributed over grades kindergarten through 5. Fifty-six of the performance objectives are taken from SARI (Systematic Approach to Reading Improvement), with a few minor changes in wording and in minimums. SARI is a reading skills management system distributed by Phi Delta Kappa. Thirty-four of the performance objectives and their pre- and post-tests were developed and written by the staff at West Vigo Elementary School.

Analysis of Program Effectiveness

This section will deal with the analysis of objective data relating to the effectiveness of the West Vigo Elementary School.

There have been comprehensive analyses of two programs at the West Vigo Elementary School described earlier. One is the three-year ESEA Title III research project MODEL conducted from 1972 through 1975. A 120-page statistical report was compiled on this project by James R. Barclay of the University of Kentucky, who was contracted as the outside evaluator of this project. The other analysis was prepared by Barry J. Van Dyck, a doctoral fellow at Indiana State University. He prepared a longitudinal evaluation of the West Vigo Elementary School EAS reading program. This report is a 27-page document.

The three measurement instruments used in project MODEL were the Nelson Reading Inventory, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, and the Barclay Classroom Climate Inventory. As controls, two other elementary schools were used in this project, but their student bodies had a different socioeconomic status than the students of West Vigo Elementary School.

In brief, the findings in terms of the Nelson Reading Test showed no significant differences between the three schools, suggesting that West Vigo, by concentrated effort, had raised the achievement level in basic vocabulary and reading comprehension. Such was not the case, however, with the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, where significant differences still existed among the schools. Most of the discrepancies in scores can probably be attributed to socioeconomic differences. Finally, in terms of social/affective change, it was noted that West Vigo substantially altered the environment and reinforcement contingencies for girls in the sample tested. The fact that no significant learning problems were encountered when students moved on to the seventh grade was further evidence of the effectiveness of West Vigo's program.

In presenting this case study it has been quite evident that there were two distinct thrust periods. The first was the initial three years in the new school and the impact of project MODEL. The final thrust was during the next three years under the new administration and the implementation of the EAS reading program.

The following conclusions were derived from the report of Barry Van Dyck, program evaluator from Indiana State University.

Using the Gates-McGinitie reading tests, a statistical analysis was made to determine significant differences in repeated measures for vocabulary and comprehension. The results were almost identical for both the vocabulary and the comprehension standard scores. In both cases highly significant differences were found between the 1977, 1978, and 1979 means. Inspection of the yearly means indicated a slight drop in scores between 1977 and 1978 and a dramatic increase from 1978 to 1979. The scores dropped slightly from 1976 to 1977, then increased dramatically from 1978 to 1979. The girls scored significantly higher than the boys across time and grade. Interestingly, in 1977 the girls scored higher than boys did in 1979 after the boys had experienced two years of the new program.

Questionnaires requesting an evaluation of the children's perception of selected aspects of the EAS program were randomly distributed to parents in the spring of 1978 and 1979. Analysis of this data indicates that the program is favorable to the students and that the second year of the program tends to be even more favorable.

A seven-year analysis of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills showed a fairly consistent pattern across time. One encouraging observation was that the first two-year consecutive increase for West Vigo's Iowa reading scores occurred from 1977 to 1979.

The overall data analysis strongly supports the conclusion that the West Vigo EAS reading program is of benefit to the students in terms of increased standard reading scores. The data also suggest that the program required two years of implementation to realize this increase. First-year decreases and second-year increases were consistently observed. Support for the program's more subtle qualities, such as increased involvement and increased expression of affect, is reinforced by data from the parent/student evaluations.

Evidence of current improvement is rather strong, but data from extended longitudinal research is needed to confirm the program's effectiveness and to repudiate rival hypotheses such as: gains due to transitional effects; gains due to the increased involvement in a new program; or observable gains due to the normal variance in tests scores.

If the trends noted above continue for several more years, then the effectiveness of the program will, without doubt, be firmly established.

West Vigo Elementary School has during the past seven years been involved in a transitional process in which the heart of the instructional program has been the enhancement of children's self-concepts. West Vigo has operated under the assumption that if children can enjoy activities and feel good about themselves, they will respond to an organized, systematic approach to skill development. The program model is emerging.

Summary

The following critical events have been identified as contributing to the improvement of teaching and learning patterns of the West Vigo Elementary School:

1. The actual physical move into a new facility from four inadequate educational facilities. The move took place in the fall of 1972.
2. Project MODEL, an attempt to initiate a teaching concept based upon an extrinsic positive reinforcement model. The project covered the period from 1972 through 1975.
3. The effect of two dynamic leadership personalities and the transition period.
4. The development and implementation of the EAS (Enjoyment; Affective; Skills) reading program.

Over a seven-year period the predominant teaching pattern has been to deal with affective dimensions. There was a concerted effort to instill a feeling of worth in each individual student and to make every effort to praise accomplishments, while de-emphasizing failures. This has not been an easy task. The initial decision to make a strong affective education thrust came from the central administration, but the challenge was accepted by the project director, the two principals, and the staff. The staff has now refined the most effective strategies and is instituting them in the instructional program, particularly with the EAS reading program.

For education to be effective it must be enjoyable and be organized around a well-defined sequence of skills, but above all it must be presented in a climate sensitive to the personal needs of each individual learner. To accomplish all this requires the delicate touch of the maestro, eliciting the most effective performance from all involved. The evolution of instructional improvement at West Vigo Elementary School has come about through the effective and sensitive leadership of the principals.

Louis C. Ward Elementary School
Fort Wayne, Indiana

By

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Fort Wayne, or the Summit City as it is often called, is located at the junction of three rivers in the northeastern corner of Indiana. It is one of the largest urban centers in the state, with a population nearing 200,000, and it can claim its share of predictable urban problems—unemployment, poverty, and decay of the central city area. Fort Wayne has two strong parochial school systems (Lutheran and Catholic) that coexist with the public school system. The Fort Wayne Community School System (FWCSS) is the largest in the area and serves 19,000 elementary pupils in kindergarten through sixth grade in 41 buildings.

School-Community Background

Visitors to the Louis C. Ward Elementary School, the urban elementary school selected for this study, would not encounter a bright and shiny new building; they would nonetheless find it an exciting place where interesting things are going on. Students, teachers, and parents are proud of this school and are often eager to advertise this pride by wearing their "L. C. Ward" T-shirts. In 49 years the school has undergone only one major structural change, a five-classroom addition in 1968. It has had other minor face liftings and cosmetic paint jobs, but generations of children have learned reading, writing, and arithmetic in its high-ceilinged, traditional classrooms. And today Ward's students, parents, and teachers are still working together, learning together, and getting the job done with remarkable enthusiasm.

Although this case study focuses on the four-year period from 1975 to 1979, it is important to recognize that Ward is one of the *grandes dames* of the Fort Wayne schools and has a long history of service to students and parents.

Originally organized as the Oxford Street School in September 1928, the Louis C. Ward Elementary School recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, something of an achievement in this era of planned obsolescence for school buildings. The original portable building housed 260 children in kindergarten through grade 6 before it was replaced in 1930 by a permanent building with 12 teaching stations.

At the dedication of the school, L. A. Pittenger, president of Ball State Teachers College, spoke on "The Community and the Child." The following are quotes from Pittenger's speech:

> Historically the child has been treated by parent and community in what appears to us today a very cruel manner. The ancient Russians had a rule that a doctor need not treat sick children unless he felt so disposed. Lycurgus and Solon believed that weak and crippled children should not be supported and educated. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle held the belief that children could be eliminated if parents found it expedient....

Pittinger went on to say what he thought were the true reasons for educating the child:

> A school should make certain that every child has an opportunity to learn the fundamental facts so necessary for complete living. The child should learn how to study and then have the zest to keep abreast of the times by proper observation and application. The school should give the learner a poise of mind that will be helpful in a well balanced life.... A properly educated child will possess a mental control that will banish worry and all the contaminating influences that come with a worried mind.

The school building was constructed at a cost of $124,000, but, according to recent estimates, it would cost $3,500,000 to replace today. Most of the other inner-city schools in Fort Wayne have been either replaced with new buildings or have undergone major renovations during the last few years. The Ward building is considered structurally sound and extensive renovation began in the summer of 1979. Carpeting and classroom sinks will be installed, and the building will be modified to meet the needs of current educational programming. While there will be less actual classroom space after remodeling, specific areas for art and music will be available, and the office and staff work areas will be enlarged and improved.

While the majority of the Fort Wayne elementary school buildings serve kindergarten through grade 6, the FWCSS is in a transition period that will ultimately result in a reorganization with elementary schools serving kindergarten through grade 5; middle schools serving grades 6, 7, and 8; and high schools serving grades 9, 10, 11, and 12. Currently there are 24 K through 6 buildings, 11 K through 5 buildings, four K through 4 buildings, and two 5 through 6 buildings.

Of these 41 elementary schools, 13 are located in the designated target area that qualifies them for federally funded Title I programs to provide supplementary assistance for educationally disadvantaged students. These Title I schools share many of the characteristics of other urban schools—high percentages of students from low-income families, large numbers of low-achieving students, and lack of community stability. The Louis C. Ward Elementary School is one of the Title I schools in the Fort Wayne Community School System.

In 1978-79 Ward had 426 students. Slightly more than 75% are black, 16% are Caucasian, nearly 8% are Mexican-American, and 0.5% are Asian. This racial mixture is very nearly the reverse of the school system as a whole, which is about 78.5% Caucasian, 19.1% black, 1.6% Mexican-American, and 1.5% Asian.

The teaching staff at Ward consists of 15 classroom teachers and specialists in vocal and instrumental music, art, and physical education. Years of experience for this group range from two to 17 years, with an average of nine years. Many of the teachers have worked largely in urban schools. All but one of the staff hold a master's degree. In addition to a full-time administrator, a reading specialist and a school psychometrist are assigned to Ward one and one-half days per week. A school nurse, speech clinician, and itinerant learning disability specialist provide services in their areas of expertise.

Paraprofessional staff include a psychometric aide, who assists in the evaluation element of the Title I program; six Title I instructional aides, who provide students with supplementary reading instruction under the supervision of the reading specialist; and a liaison aide who works in the community-based component of the Title I program. The custodial and clerical staff includes a full-time secretary, a custodial engineer, and a custodial aide, each of whom makes a vital contribution to the operation of the school. Other auxiliary personnel include four community members employed to assist with cafeteria and playground supervision and other duties such as grading papers or duplicating work sheets.

The educational program at Ward does not differ substantially from those at other elementary schools in the system. Similar to other inner-city schools, the pupil-teacher ratio at Ward is 1 to 27. While Ward's classrooms are self-contained, flexibility of grouping is encouraged. Students in reading are grouped according to ability, and teachers cooperate with each other on special projects.

Teachers perceive the curriculum as a "back to basics" program and emphasize fundamental reading and math skills. Basal texts provide the framework for instruction in the classroom. The Sullivan Program and Houghton Mifflin's *Ready Steps* are used by the kindergarten teachers. Math, history, and health books from Scott Foresman, science and spelling materials from Silver Burdett, English books from Glenco, and the Houghton Mifflin reading series are the other basal texts used. Supplementary materials include SRA reading kits and Zaner Blosser

Creative Handwriting Workbooks. Some teachers have experimented with new instructional materials and methods, but no special schoolwide programs have been implemented.

Teachers have ample opportunities to try new approaches and are encouraged to express their individuality and creativity through their teaching methods. They have 35 minutes of planning and preparation time daily, and additional time is available during scheduled art, music, and physical education classes conducted by special teachers. Released time for parent conferences is scheduled for two half-days each semester. Teachers are also entitled to released time to participate in a two-day professional conference and an annual human relations workshop, part of Fort Wayne's systemwide inservice education program. Other inservice programs were related to textbook adoptions, use of new materials, and a new system of teacher evaluation based on performance goals and objectives.

Ward can claim no uniqueness by virtue of its funding base. Per-pupil expenditure is determined on the same basis as the other elementary schools in the system. Additional funding is provided, however, through the federally funded Title I program. Instructional aides and supplementary materials not available in schools outside the target area are provided to assist eligible students. Locally established standards indicate that students achieving below the thirty-sixth percentile in reading and/or math on a national norm-referenced test are eligible for supplementary instruction through the Title I program. Since 48.8% of Ward's students qualify for participation in the program, it is evident that Title I makes a significant contribution to Ward's educational program.

Procedures for the Study

With this basic demographic data in hand, the local study team began to collect more specific information about the who, what, where, when, and why at Louis C. Ward Elementary School that make it an exemplary urban elementary school. Identifying the critical variables that contributed to the success of Ward was not an easy task. The accumulation of data sometimes confused rather than clarified issues; personnel, personalities, policies, and programs vied for attention and interpretation. Subjective and objective evaluations maintained a somewhat tenuous balance as the study team attempted to sort out the relevant from the irrelevant.

Four main sources provided the team with a composite view of staff, students, parents, and central office personnel involved with Ward School. The study team interviewed staff and central office personnel. Teachers were given training in conducting parent interviews. One teacher from each grade level interviewed parents in their homes. Questionnaires were prepared for staff and parents. Other sources of information were Parent Teacher Association records, Title I evaluations, achievement test results, and statistical reports for comparing systemwide data with local school data. Interviews and questionnaires probed respondents' perceptions of what was good, bad, or indifferent about

Ward School; and what changes, if any, had occurred during the time of the study. There was an attempt to get an overall view of the climate of Ward School as a place where parents wanted to send their kids and as a place to learn.

Administrative, teaching, and central office personnel provided historical perspective for the years from 1975 to 1979 at Ward. In 1975 the effects of several years of rapid community change were compounded by the effects of a nearly 33% turnover of teaching personnel. Students, staff, and parents often appeared to be unhappy with themselves and each other. The principal assigned to Ward School in the spring of 1975 recognized that Ward was viewed by some school system personnel and some community members as a less than desirable place to teach or to attend school. There seemed to be communication gaps among staff members and between staff and community. The central administration was aware of the difficulties facing the Ward School staff, including a high rate of personnel turnover, low morale among staff members, problems in the operation of the Title I program, and an apparent lack of cooperation among school administrators, teachers, students, and parents.

Improved School-Community Communication

The appointment of a new principal, the assignment of five different teachers in the fall of 1975, and the gradual stabilization of the neighborhood set the stage for the emergence of an exceptional urban school program.

The principal established a foundation for effective communication with the staff during the summer following his appointment. He maintained regular office hours that summer and invited teachers and other staff members to come in and share concerns and give suggestions for improving the school. A school handbook was also prepared during the summer so that staff members could refer to it to clarify questions regarding school policies and practices.

Further steps taken to facilitate staff communications included periodic staff bulletins, regular faculty meetings, and the establishment of a steering committee composed of grade-level teacher representatives to provide a forum for teacher concerns. The administrator also maintained an open-door policy to insure that he was accessible to staff.

Parents were also encouraged to participate more actively in school affairs through the formation of a parent advisory council that held several meetings a year to offer parents an opportunity to discuss concerns openly. Periodic parent bulletins provided an additional channel of communication with parents. One of the central office administrators commented on the quality of these bulletins and cited them as one of the most important factors contributing to good home-school communication in the Ward School. Individual teachers conducted workshops to improve parents' skills in working with their own children.

Children at Ward now seem to be involved in their school and are made to feel good about it, as well as about themselves, through such activities as an organized cafeteria plan with a daily award system, a

"Clean Patrol" encouraging the children to help keep school grounds clean, "Student of the Year" plaques given to outstanding students, Black History and Brotherhood Week programs, annual fun and field days, classroom picnic days, and recognition of individual children by having their name announced and receiving a "Happy Birthday" pencil on their special day.

The effects of these efforts to involve parents, students, and staff in the Ward School program are reflected in what they said about the school in the interviews and questionnaires the study team conducted. Responses to staff questionnaires revealed that over half felt there has been from "some" to "a great deal" of improvement in the past few years in areas of staff relationships with parents, communication cooperation among staff and administration, teacher attitudes toward students and student attitudes toward teachers, community support, availability of materials and supplies, and the principal's organization and support. Those interviewed felt that, on the whole, students seem to be gaining academically as well as improving in their attitudes toward school. Factors associated with these improvements were the improved quality of supplementary help students are receiving and increased opportunities for the children to receive positive recognition at school.

Individual interviews of each staff member reflected a positive attitude toward almost all aspects of the school environment. When asked why relationships between parents and the school have improved, one teacher said, "Lines of communication are open now. Parents are always made to feel welcome to come to school and express their feelings." Concern for students was one of the principal themes detected in the attitudes of principal, teachers, and parents. One staff member mentioned that a great deal of effort is made to establish contacts with as many people as are needed to meet the needs of children with special needs. One teacher feels the positive environment results from the excellent organization of the staff, and that now there is concern for the community and for the feelings of each individual. She stated specifically, "I now feel very positive about the community, staff, and students."

Staff interviews showed, too, that many felt that positive administrative leadership, teamed with staff efforts to broaden opportunities for students and parent involvement, has resulted in the positive atmosphere they have observed. Supportive organization has aided in improving teacher and student attitudes, parent involvement, student discipline, and communications among all concerned. Other positive aspects reported included auxiliary staff who make an important contribution to an atmosphere of warmth and concern in the building.

Although staff members were aware of areas that needed improvement, a majority of them said they would choose working at Ward over another inner-city school. All but one felt that there was a cooperative atmosphere among staff members at Ward. They appreciated the administrative support and felt they received the help they needed in order to perform their duties at school. One teacher said "The supplies and equipment availability at Ward are great. It's the closest to perfection you can have." Another staff member wrote, "There is a supportive administration, but we are still free to do our own thing." Many appreciated the discipline the principal has maintained in the school, as well as the current "good community relationships." A substitute teacher who works in many schools of the central city indicated in an interview that the children are happy to be at Ward and said that she was happy to be assigned to that school because the principal and staff have been able to stimulate a great deal of parent interest and to establish a warm, open, inviting climate.

Parent Involvement Increases

Parents also expressed very positive views about the school. According to the surveys sent to all parents (almost 50% return), 79% of the parents responded that they felt that the school understands their child's needs, 91% felt that the school provided a good educational program, 98% felt that there are sufficient opportunities for parents to discuss their children's progress with the teacher, and 97% felt that Ward is a good place for a child to learn. Another parent said, "We are proud of our school and the concern they show for our children by letting us know of any problems." Another parent indicated that the school is very congenial, warm, exciting, and that "something good is always happening there." Comments from the survey frequently mentioned the leadership of the principal and the dedicated teaching staff as positive aspects of the school program.

The study team discovered that parents demonstrated their feelings for Ward in actions as well as words. For example, Parent Teacher Association membership has grown since 1975, with membership increasing by 70.9% over four years. Parent volunteers work on many projects in the school, and Title I personnel work extensively on involving parents in needs assessment, project evaluation, and inservice activities designed to foster better home-school relationships. The Parent Teacher Association has been involved in schoolwide fund-raising projects and the response has been encouraging. Response to parent-teacher conferences has been positive. On the most recent parent conference days, many parents who had not even scheduled conferences participated in this program.

Another critical factor that must be weighed in assessing the effectiveness of a school's program is the academic progress of its students. Responses to questionnaires and interviews and other observational data made it obvious that Ward teachers and parents are involved in school programs and feel good about them, but further investigation was needed to determine if academic goals were being met. Results of group achievement tests from the past few years were reviewed.

At many urban schools, administrators, teachers, parents, and students dread the announcement of achievement test results, since the announcement is usually accompanied by much talk of declining test scores and of other problems of the educational system. The so-called decline of test scores has not happened at Ward School. Consequently, analyzing test results from recent years is a positive experience for both students and staff. While the school population has changed markedly (from a very stable middle- to upper-income group to a less stable, lower-middle to lower-income group), achievement test scores after an initial drop have remained remarkably stable and in some cases have improved. The average reading score for Ward students who have completed the third grade is comparable to national norm expectations (3.8 at the end of the eighth month of third grade) and exceeds norms based on populations of minority students from similar urban school settings. Ward students generally appear to be achieving at a higher level than many urban school students do, and they appear to be making appropriate gains in academic skill areas.

Other measures indicate that Ward students are making good progress in basic skill areas. A recent state-initiated program provides for reassessment of skills if students fail to meet minimum requirements determined by local advisory committees. Students needing further instruction are identified on the basis of both norm-referenced and informal measures. After additional instruction in weak areas, a reassessment of those areas is completed. At Ward School only 18 third-graders (less than 20% of the total group) were identified as needing reteaching and retesting in reading; only 16 in math (17%); and only two students in spelling (2%). The percentage of students identified as needing reteaching in other urban schools in the Fort Wayne Community School System is, in some cases more than 50% at the specified grade levels. These statistics suggest that Ward is in many ways an exceptional urban school.

This is Ward School today, a place where students are learning in an atmosphere of purposeful activity, and where parents can communicate meaningfully about shared concerns. It has a staff described by central office personnel as being "above average in staff loyalty to school when compared with other urban elementary schools" and as being "sensitive to needs of the people who make up its attendance area." The same source commented on the "strong, visible parent support of programs" and "outstanding administrative leadership." Teachers comment that "parents care" and that "[the principal] shows special interest in each program initiated." One staff member said, "Pride is the word that sums it up...how the students, staff, and community feel about the school."

Yet a "before and after" perspective indicates that this atmosphere of cooperation was not achieved easily. Although parental involvement and interest were high during Ward's early years and has recently increased, parental involvement decreased significantly during the late 1960s and early 1970s when the socioeconomic make-up of the neighborhood changed drastically. Prior to this period of transition, the children were predominantly from middle-income homes and the neighborhood was very stable. During these years of change, many of these families moved out. They were replaced by low-income, predominantly minority families. Instability increased. (Nearly two-thirds of the school population qualifies for the free lunch program.) During the years of change, the parents often expressed very negative feelings about the school to both the school staff and the central administration. Parents felt that cooperation and communication between school and home was not as good as it should be. The instability of the neighborhood often made this communication a difficult task. The parents lacked confidence in the educational program of the school and did not feel that the school met their children's needs.

However, in the past few years the neighborhood has assumed greater stability as these new families have begun to take part in their neighborhood. As mentioned earlier, the Parent Teacher Association membership has increased and the parents are becoming more involved in school activities. The parents once again seem to respect the school as an important institution and as an integral part of their community.

Community Mobilizes for a Crisis

Indeed, parents seem to be willing to go to unusual lengths to let people know how they feel about Ward. When faced with a crisis, parents demonstrated the depth of their commitment to the program at Ward School very effectively. Ward was scheduled to be closed as a result of a reorganization plan designed to further desegregation of the Fort Wayne elementary schools. Parents spoke out strongly against the closing of the school and were able to marshal their forces effectively. Tremendous support of the neighborhood school concept was shown. Parent concerns were evaluated and the school board reconsidered the scheduled closing.

Later, during individual interviews conducted during the study, many parents and teachers commented on the cohesiveness that developed when the school community was faced with this crisis. This positive response indicates that the challenge of the changing neighborhood has been met: school and staff have adapted successfully; fulfilling the educational needs of a changing population of students, communicating with a new generation of parents, playing the game by new rules, and believing in the importance of its role are reflected in many aspects of the program at Ward School.

The principal and teachers also worked hard to maintain good intrastaff communication. Teachers reported that staff, students, and parents appreciated the clarification of expectations. Supportive structure and organization made it easier for students and teachers to concentrate on learning. Behavior and discipline improved in the lunchroom and hallways, and teachers felt that the principal was working with them to solve discipline problems in the classroom. One teacher commented, "There is excellent cooperation between office and parents when discipline problems arise." The teachers also offer reinforcement and recognition when they observe their colleagues' successes. One teacher commented, "Since I've been at Ward, I have appreciated the attitude co-workers have had in trying to help students."

Summary

In summary, the study team concluded that Ward is indeed an exceptional urban school. Perhaps one of the most critical incidents to bring

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administrative staff, teachers, aides, and community together was the threatened closing of the school. Parents and staff began to work cooperatively to make the school board aware that Ward was a good place for students to be. Everyone realized that significant things were being done to improve the lives of the children who passed through the high-ceilinged rooms. The support that the teaching staff received from the principal, the administrative support that Ward received from the central office personnel, and the tremendous support that the school received from the community developed a pride in Ward that is indeed exemplary.

In the past few years Ward School has become a highly respected institution within the community. The parents have developed a great deal of interest in the school, its educational programs, and its activities. The former mayor of Fort Wayne is a parent in this school community and has made the following comment: "Ward has become an exciting and challenging institution for the young people." Another parent has expressed her opinion with the following statement: "The principal and teachers involved with my children are exceptional. They always show a genuine concern. The teachers seem aware of the children's learning capabilities and motivate them to do their very best." These comments are supported by the positive response shown on the parent questionnaire.

The increase in parental involvement and interest in Ward School has been shown in many ways. More parents are joining the Parent Teacher Association and are participating in its meetings and activities. Attendance at Parent Teacher Association functions has increased. The parents are volunteering to put more time and effort into the school. Many parents are doing volunteer work in the classrooms, assisting on field trips, and helping out with various school activities. The Title I program sponsors parent enrichment classes, craft classes, exercise periods, and many other activities that bring the parents into the school. Ward is open to the community and guests are welcome at any time. A human relations open house in the fall of 1978 was a tremendous success. Local business people attending were able to see displays of classroom activities and a slide presentation while enjoying refreshments.

Furthermore, Ward measures up on the tangible as well as the more intangible aspects of the school curriculum. Students, aided in many cases by supplementary help from the Title I program, are making appropriate progress in academic areas. There are still children who are functioning below grade level according to norm-referenced tests, but there is continuous gain as they progress through the grades. There are also students who achieve at a superior level on the norm-referenced test. When compared to other urban schools in the Fort Wayne Community School System, Ward students demonstrate excellent achievement. When compared to urban schools nationally, they are significantly above norm expectations.

The study team believes that the majority of L. A. Pittenger's goals delivered at the school's dedication almost 50 years ago are being realized at L. C. Ward Elementary School today.

> A school should make certain that every child has an opportunity to learn the fundamental facts so necessary for complete living. The child should learn how to study and then have the zest to keep abreast of the times by proper observation and application. The school should give the learner a poise of mind that will be helpful in a well-balanced life....

Leif Ericson Elementary School
Chicago, Illinois

By

Kathleen Gregory
and
Siegfried G. Mueller

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The Department of Research and Evaluation of the Chicago Public Schools would like to express its appreciation to the district superintendent, principal, and staff of the Leif Ericson school. Also, the following professional staff members should be recognized for their assistance and suggestions in conducting this study: Christine G. Loving, principal, Beidler School; David Helberg, principal, Woodson South School; Gerard J. Heing, assistant superintendent, Department of Curriculum; and John W. Wick, former director, Department of Research and Evaluation.

Leif Ericson Elementary School was selected by the Chicago local team of the Phi Delta Kappa Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools Project as the site for its developmental case study because it is a successful school that has shown improvement, particularly during the last five years. The goal of the study is to explain Ericson's success by examining critical incidents in its history that have had an impact on its success. This may shed light on the process of development at Ericson and provide insight for urban elementary education.

This study was conducted by an anthropological researcher using ethnographic observations and interviews as the primary research methods. These methods seemed most appropriate for historical research. Participants were asked to recall the past years at Ericson in order to explain its present success. Current staff, administration, and to a lesser extent parents and students, acted as consultants. The district superintendent, evaluators, and several former teachers and administrators were also interviewed.

Because the goal of the research was to discover an "insider's perceptions" of Ericson's success (Spradley and McCurdy, *The Cultural Complex Ethnography in Complex Society*, 1972), observations and documentary analyses were used primarily to generate interview topics. This follows the research design of having these cases presented as self-studies. The researcher served to collate various opinions and perceptions and to articulate findings in this final report.

Leif Ericson Elementary School

Leif Ericson Elementary School is one of 14 elementary schools in Chicago Public School District 8. Ericson staff educate 885 kindergarten through eighth-grade pupils at 3600 West Fifth Ave., the southeast corner of Garfield Park on Chicago's west side.

Although boulevards and parks create a picturesque setting, abandoned buildings, vacant lots, and broken bottles are evidence of neighborhood decay. Home owners have moved west to the Austin district of Chicago. Many large apartment buildings have been razed. Many home owners who remain in the Fifth City neighborhood are elderly without school-aged children. Tenant families do not create a stable permanent community. Many of those who take an apartment in this neighborhood have hit bottom financially. District 8 is the poorest district in Chicago.

Ericson School opened in 1962. At that time District 8 was overcrowded. Many of the schools were on double shifts; students attended either in the morning or in the afternoon and teachers shared classrooms. At that time the student-teacher ratio in the district was approximately 38 to 1, but in terms of classrooms this translated into 76 students and two teachers per room. When Ericson opened, District 8 was able to end the double-shift schedule. This was a goal in the construction of many new schools during the later Fifties and early Sixties. Ericson opened with approximately 1,100 students. Lewis J. Petty was the first principal.

Ericson is a double-facade building with finished brick on all sides. One side faces West Fifth Avenue and Central Park Boulevard, another faces Garfield Park. The building's official capacity is 975 and seems adequate for the 885 students who now attend. However, when Petty left Ericson in June 1966 to become principal of Canty School, there were 1,700 students at Ericson with 10 mobile units on the playground.

Phillip E. Ford became principal in June 1966. He was the chief administrator during particularly difficult years. "Those were years of turmoil, the low point for Ericson," according to one teacher. In April 1968 the neighborhood around Ericson was in flames following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. The late Sixties and early Seventies were trying times for schools throughout the nation, and this period at Ericson was chaotic. Apparently, Ericson school was not helped by what teachers describe as the previous principal's laissez-faire attitude. Although Ericson's staff has always been strong, the teachers had little direction during this period. The staff was large and included many men who were teaching in the inner city to avoid the draft.

Ericson has always had a predominantly black student body. Currently, 99.5% of the students are black, and 65.7% are from low-income families as compared to 32.3% from low-income families citywide. The poverty level of Ericson's population has increased steadily over the past five years. In 1973-1974, 53.5% of Ericson's students were from low-income families. The school has been eligible for Title I funds since the program started in 1966; however, it only began receiving Title I funding as a target area in 1972.

Approximately 61% of the 42 teachers are black. All but four are women. The current principal, Marjorie Branch, is a dynamic, middle-aged black, a description that also fits Mary Jo Wollfolk, the assistant principal. The previous principals were white men. Branch became principal in May 1973.

Ericson is seen as the major stabilizing influence in the lives of its students. They may have to assume adult roles prematurely in their homes and neighborhood, but at Ericson, where time and activities are organized and closely supervised by a dedicated and enthusiastic staff, they are treated as children. The interior of the Ericson building is clean and attractive. Frequently changed, attractive bulletin boards line hallways, and classrooms are decorated with pictures and displays related to ongoing classroom activities.

Children attend school regularly and arrive on time. Ericson's attendance rate is 92.5%, the highest in the district. Student tardiness is almost nonexistent. Students run to school to be on time. Teachers also attend regularly and on time, and are satisfied with their jobs. They feel they can accomplish their goal of teaching the children and that they are a necessary part of the students' lives. The staff and administrators have high expectations for their students and for themselves. Teachers as well as students at Ericson are working and achieving well over what can be normally expected in an inner-city school.

This success has occurred primarily within the past five years. This report looks intently at Ericson's principal, Marjorie Branch, as the educational and administrative leader of the school since May 1973. Her personal style of leadership and her expectations seem to be critical factors in explaining why Ericson is succeeding where other inner-city schools are not. The turn around at Ericson can be associated with her assignment. Along with Branch's leadership, the expectations and performance of the staff have contributed a great deal. Federal funding has been an important factor as well. The remainder of this report will identify and demonstrate the importance of critical incidents in Ericson's recent history related to its success, beginning with Branch's assignment as Ericson's principal.

Change in Administration

In January 1973 the principal of Ericson School died suddenly and the assistant principal became acting principal. The Ericson staff adjusted well to the tragedy and according to Henry Springs, Jr., the district superintendent, Ericson immediately became more orderly. He attributes this in part to the direction given by the acting principal and in part to an attitude of "pulling together during a difficult period."

A nine-member committee composed primarily of community members worked swiftly that spring to replace the principal. Six applicants who had passed the principal's examination were interviewed, including Marjorie Branch, Springs' first choice. The community committee selected Branch unanimously, saying to Springs, "You certainly must have known what you were looking for when you recommended Marjorie Branch."

Branch knew Springs and District 8 particularly well because District 8 was the highest poverty district and, therefore, had the most school community representatives (SCRs) who were under her supervision as director of human relations and administrator of the school community identification program. Springs is very proud of Branch. "I wish I had a Marjorie Branch in each of my schools," he said. Branch explains, "It's very important for a district superintendent to have good principals in the schools. It means fewer problems. Just like I want good teachers in my classrooms because it makes things easier for me." Springs selected her for leadership qualities, including honesty, her ability to articulate and communicate with many types of people, her "genuine" attitude, her administrative experience, and her sense of mission. Branch came with a 10-year commitment to Ericson in mind and with high expectations of traditional middle-class values for inner-city children.

When she arrived in May 1973, she reports, "On the whole, the school was good. It was not upside down or inside out, but it was laissez-faire. Attendance was poor. I felt the teachers and staff were not really doing all they could." An important thrust of her administration has been staff development in the total sense of the term. "She can take most any teacher and turn him into a good teacher, or take a good teacher and turn him into an excellent teacher," according to her staff. Staff (newly assigned) are often below average because it is known that she actively supervises and begins to turn these teachers around.

Branch has added vitality, organization, and a sense of purpose to Ericson. She perceives goals and tackles them, saying to her staff, "Here's what we want, here's why we want it, and here's what you have to do." During her first year she began to take control of the school. Report card grades were to reflect graded papers instead of being pulled out of the air or based on teachers' likes and dislikes. Children were going to be placed where they could succeed and where teachers could be accountable for their students' successes. Attendance can be correlated with achievement. Branch worked on attendance with parents (parents must come to school with late children), students, and with her teachers. "If students can be absent and still achieve, then you're not necessary," she told them.

An additional thrust that year was the emphasis on the learning environment. She insisted that teachers take responsibility for bulletin boards, which were to be changed once a month. They were to reflect the instructional program; no "Happy New Year or seasonal stuff."

Teachers learned to work as a team to meet her demands, helping each other and trading skills. Branch feels there has been tremendous growth in the staff in this area. Today, the hallways and classrooms are neat and attractively decorated with educational exhibits.

She works with her staff continually, confronting problems with a solution-oriented, nonpunitive approach. She takes personal interest in her teachers. She is always looking for opportunities to make helpful suggestions. The success of the properly placed children who attend school regularly is the responsibility of the teacher. If children are failing, Branch knows, and she confronts the teacher first to ask why. Failure is not blamed on the child. Together, principal and teacher look for solutions. She starts with the attitude that the teacher is good, and the child is good, but sometimes there are problems.

Branch's office on the first floor of Ericson School always has an open door. Children, parents, teachers, and other staff often stop in to talk over problems. Her personality is warm, friendly, and professional. She dresses attractively, smartly. She exudes energy and spends over 50% of her school day observing around the building and thus is highly visible. The combination of being approachable and actively confronting problems herself keeps things under control.

Miss Branch expects children to come to school on time and to be dressed appropriately. Parents are contacted about problems with improper clothing, and Branch will personally contact the AFDC (Aid for Dependent Children) caseworker if children do not have decent clothes or if there is evidence that parents may not be spending their money on their children. There is also a "clothes closet" for emergencies. Boys are not permitted to wear braids. "Boys need to look like boys and begin to form their identity." Students are not permitted to call teachers by their first name. "The strong point of Ericson is the posture of the administration, the way the school carries itself," according to Larry Powitz, a school psychologist. Branch insists on this posture. The result is that Ericson does not look or sound like a poverty school. The school exudes pride, respect, order, cleanliness, and love.

Branch's leadership is central in a number of critical incidents at Ericson that have contributed to its success. She provided the opportunity for growth and has had input into each change during her years there.

Dismissal of an Ineffective Teacher

During her first year as principal, Branch carefully evaluated her teachers. She did not pull evaluation criteria out of the air, but based them upon state and school board understandings of teacher responsibilities. Teachers were responsible for discipline in the classroom. They were to be at school regularly and on time. They were required to turn in and follow weekly lesson plans. Branch personally evaluated all teachers throughout the year and observed their classrooms. The teachers at Ericson were not accustomed to being evaluated and held accountable. There was some rebellion to her request for weekly lesson plans. One teacher describes this as a power struggle between Branch and powerful teachers in the school who felt that teachers ought to be the sole bosses of classrooms. According to one teacher, "This was just an excuse for not planning and not teaching. 'I don't need the manual, I don't need lesson plans' was the message."

There were three things teachers *had* to do: take attendance, do lesson plans, and be there. If these were done there was practically no way a teacher could lose his or her job. One black male teacher wasn't fulfilling these minimal requirements. Branch evaluated him fairly along with other teachers, documenting her case very carefully. He was released.

Some of the teachers defended him. One teacher said, "They felt that if she can make him do lesson plans, then she can make us do lesson plans." Other teachers commenting on the dismissal stated, "Firing him was a very positive thing. It said to everyone that a teacher is responsible for these things." "Releasing him was important because it opened the eyes of the faculty." "It's difficult when you're on a friendship level with someone, but she [Branch] did the right thing. She called an ace an ace."

The dismissal of this teacher established Branch's firm authority over the Ericson staff. Teachers respected the fairness of her action, which was well documented. It also demonstrated to all the teachers that they were accountable for their professional behavior.

Branch continues to observe and evaluate the staff. In order to maintain her credibility in this respect, she must fulfill her responsibilities as well. She must be above reproach and work hard. In most instances she has helped teachers in difficulty to improve, to change their behavior so that dismissal is not an issue. Many teachers gave examples of Branch calling them in to discuss serious problems they were having. She doesn't mince words, but her criticism is constructive. All teachers looked on this as a growth experience where they worked through and solved a problem and became better teachers for it. One teacher describes this experience:

> During 1976 and 1977 we had gone headlong into Continuous Progress. I had a large class that year and was overwhelmed, and the students didn't do as well as they should have. The boss [Branch] called me in and really laid me out. First I was angry, but then I really culled the records on my boys and girls. I went to another teacher who was a friend of mine and she showed me how to document every incident in the classroom. Miss Branch had asked me why the kids were failing and I didn't know, but I found out. There is nothing like someone evaluating you to make you evaluate yourself. It doesn't matter if you're a close friend or not. If you're not doing your job, you're going to get told about it.

Closed Campus Initiated in 1976

Ericson was the last school in District 8 to change to a closed campus schedule. School now runs from 9:00 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. rather than until 3:15 p.m. as previously. Many students take advantage of a hot breakfast program before school and all students stay at Ericson for lunch. A total of 815 students are eligible for free breakfast and lunch, 55 pay half price, and only 15 pay full price.

Initially, teachers were strongly against closed campus. They wanted their 45 minutes of free time for lunch. Teachers did not want to be responsible for supervising boys and girls in the cafeteria.

Branch eats lunch daily in the cafeteria/library with the students. She also uses this as an informal time to talk to teachers who know she is always available for casual comments at this time. The adult monitors encourage students to talk and socialize in the cafeteria but order is maintained. It is a good opportunity to teach manners.

The closed campus system has reduced afternoon absence, decreased the number of altercations with students from other schools, and decreased vandalism. Another added benefit has been that teachers are now more likely to stay after school. Some teachers remain after school four days a week. Many who drive to suburbs had previously left promptly at 3:15 to avoid rush-hour traffic. The teachers are now satisfied with the new arrangement.

Continuous Progress/Mastery Learning

> The Continuous Progress program recognizes that the ability to read is a complex of learned behaviors which are strengthened through skill-development experiences. The Continuous Progress program understands ability to learn as the characteristic of all learners given the appropriate time, sequence, and set of experiences. (*Leif Ericson Elementary School Handbook for the Continuous Progress Program.*)

Continuous Progress grew out of a Continuous Development Reading Program mandated by the Chicago Board of Education in 1966. Its name was changed to Continuous Progress/Mastery Learning in 1972. The basic philosophy was that reading involved the mastery of specified skills in sequence and that learning to read could be accomplished best at rates of speed appropriate for individual students. Although the program had been mandated in 1966, not much progress in implementation had been made. The program stood as a lofty ideal rather than a realistic goal for several years.

In 1972 Dolores Perez, the Intensive Reading Improvement Program (IRIP) teacher at Ericson, attended two weeks of special training on Continuous Progress. She became very interested in the program and took it on as a special mission. She was an active participant in area meetings on the subject. She reports, "I had thought to myself, 'What can I do to affect kids' learning?' There was no basal reading series." She and several other teachers began to put together a set of guidelines for implementing Continuous Progress, to translate the philosophy into action. She began placement testing of the children, meeting them where they were.

When Branch arrived in May 1973, she and Dolores Perez became a team. The pace really stepped up. Together they put together a manual for implementing Continuous Progress at Ericson School. Kindergarten through eighth-grade students were tested and placed in levels A through N. In 1974-75 Perez and Branch presented two semesters of in-service sessions on Friday mornings before school. The first semester meetings were on the individual levels.

The teachers' union was against Continuous Progress because it created extra work for the teachers by requiring them to fill out forms and test continually, but Ericson became a model showing that Continuous Progress could be successfully implemented. Branch made a presentation to the teachers union and convinced union members of its worth. "Let's start from where we are," she told them. "What we're doing now is not working; 80% to 90% of the students aren't achieving. We will always have poor black children, so let's try Continuous Progress. Here's a plan. We'll try it and then evaluate."

At this time in 1974, 93% of the Ericson students were reading at J level (fourth grade) or below. This meant most eighth-graders were at least four years behind in reading. The first steps included testing all the children and having inservice sessions for the teachers. A basal reader was also selected to create continuity between the levels. Previously, teachers had selected their own materials.

Perez had the support of the Ericson teachers. She was popular, a hard worker, and "one of them." She dedicated herself to implementing the Continuous Progress program and, as a result of her success, she was promoted in February 1976 to reading coordinator for District 8. Her manual now is used throughout the district. One teacher reported that the only negative critical incident she could think of since Branch arrived was when Perez left Ericson. Perez reports that she left a lot of herself at Ericson. "In many ways it was the best job I ever had." Inservice sessions for Continuous Progress were a high point in Ericson's recent history. It was a period of intense creative growth.

The instructional goal at Ericson is for all children to learn to read and to read at grade level upon graduation. This goal cannot be reached immediately but it is always in the forefront of decision making. Supporters for changes in school policy use Continuous Progress as their rationale. Why should teachers be at school on time? Because instruction is important and requires their attendance. Why should students come regularly and on time? Because if they aren't there, they won't learn to read. Why should teachers turn in lesson plans? Because they are necessary for the program.

The goal of having children "continually progress" can only be reached if all the necessary prerequisites are there. Children are monitored by having them take criterion-referenced tests when they complete each level; they are also tested when they complete a skill. Eighty percent correct is passing. If a student fails to achieve 80%, then Branch wants to know why. She does not want tests to be punitive for either teachers or students. She wants tests to reward them, showing that they have progressed. So, when she asks teachers why, she is looking for real answers. "Are you always there? Is your classroom beautiful? Are you meeting each child where he is? Do you like the children? Do you expect them to do well?" If the problem is with an individual child, parents are consulted and additional testing and perhaps a psychological evaluation may be ordered.

Individual pupil progress reviews are an essential part of the Continuous Progress program. Parents must understand the goals for their children and also the role they should perform at home. Their main responsibilities are insuring that students attend school each day on time, properly dressed and with adequate sleep, and communicating with the staff as requested or when they perceive a problem. Ericson staff rely on parents to tell their children to obey teachers. Parental support for the school's effort is essential.

The adjustment teacher is the major record keeper for the school and also arranges and chairs staff sessions with parents concerning learning difficulties, attendance problems, or discipline issues. The current adjustment teacher has been at Ericson since November 1977, when the previous adjustment teacher was promoted to assistant principal. She is delighted with her position, which allows her to combine working in a school with social work. "The public school is the front line social work agency. It is the first referral for most social work. Although the instructional program is primary, you need this other component, especially in the inner city. The principal is also involved with social work, and of course the two SCRs [school-community representatives] do the legwork. We are very help oriented, we deal with the total child."

The underlying philosophy of Continuous Progress, meeting children where they are, is best served by combining an emphasis on the instructional program with support services. Ericson has been very successful in this. "New parents are difficult at first; they're not used to having to be so involved in the school, but we get 99% cooperation," says the assistant principal. Good record keeping is reassuring to parents. Parents are impressed when they can come into the office and the principal knows exactly where their children are in their progress. She keeps their test scores and records in her office.

As mentioned previously, attendance and attending to task correlate with improved achievement. When Branch arrived in 1973, attendance was well below 90%. During her first year when she was developing her program, it improved slightly to 89.4%. However, in the 1975-76 academic year and each following year, attendance has been at or above 92%. This was a sizable jump in attendance in one year and the level has been maintained. Ericson's 1977-78 attendance level of 92.5% was the highest in District 8. This is even more remarkable when one considers that the poverty level has increased during the same period and that the population has been less stable with students moving in and out of the district frequently. The rationale for regular attendance is the Continuous Progress program.

The Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (form 6), are administered each spring throughout the city, demonstrate the achievement in reading comprehension at Ericson improved consistently over the past years. (Beginning with 1975, the test was changed and began to be administered according to reading level rather than chronological age so that previous scores are not comparable).

Although reading scores are below citywide averages, this is to be expected for an inner-city school with a developing program. Ericson's scores are well above the first quartile of citywide scores (indicating that

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills
Ericson School — Reading Comprehension

Grade Equivalent by Age Cycle

Age

Test Year	9	10	11	12	13+
1975	3.3	3.8	4.1	4.5	5.0
1976	3.3	3.8	4.6	4.5	6.1
1977	3.4	4.0	4.5	5.2	6.1
1978	3.5	4.1	4.5	5.0	6.5

the average student at Ericson is doing better than the lower 25% of students in the city.)

The eighth-grade class, or those 13 years old and older, have improved most dramatically, gaining one-and-one-half years since 1975. They have had the longest exposure to the Ericson system of Continuous Progress. They were also, undoubtedly, working extra hard in anticipation of graduation. Diagonal lines in the chart above reflect approximate individual class progress from year to year. Notice that when the same children are viewed from year to year there is steady and continuous improvement.

The staff is generally satisfied with the Continuous Progress program. Although teachers must do a lot of preparation, once they have prepared, teaching is simpler. Students who are placed at the correct level do not suffer from boredom and frustration, so there are fewer discipline problems. Teachers who know where their students are and are prepared for them can accomplish their goals.

Some teachers, however, expressed concern about the emphasis Continuous Progress puts on reading skills and tests. Perhaps they felt there is not enough emphasis on the whole process of reading. Students may take tests and then forget the material immediately. This does not seem to be a problem, as long as skills are selected and organized to be truly developmental. But, some concerned teachers did critically examine assumptions of the curriculum.

One teacher wistfully reminisced about her own school where reading was taught as a whole process and children loved to read. She wished that one class could be taught for a year without tests or skills, just to see the result. However, another teacher countered that at least the kids were learning to read now, and while perhaps it was time to expand the curriculum, the skills must come first. Undoubtedly, curriculum will continue to change, but the goal of Continuous Progress seems sound and stable at Ericson.

Title I Funding

Ericson has been eligible for Title I funding since the law came into effect in 1966, but was not funded until 1972. The funding, when it came, was certainly a factor in Ericson's success. The success is, however, due more to the excellent administration of the funding than to the mere presence of additional money. According to Henry Springs, Jr., "The best use of Title I has been funding extra teachers. The more adults you have in the classroom, the better." All schools in District 8 are funded by Title I. At Ericson, 250 students actively participate in special programs. Title I has allowed Ericson to fund four teachers, five teaching assistants, and two school-community representatives. During 1978-79 Ericson had the following six Title I programs:

1. Language Arts Reinforcement Center (LARC)
2. Teaching Reading Through Drama
3. Crane Reading Program
4. Instructional Labs for the Teaching of Reading
5. Outdoor Education (camp program)
6. School-community representatives whose responsibilities are:
    - telephoning parents
    - visiting classrooms of students
    - visiting homes of students (especially those without telephones)
    - accompanying children to various sites
    - arranging and attending parents' meetings
    - providing assistance to Title I teachers

The two school-community representatives (SCRs) at Ericson are Martha Cheeks and Clarice Hildreth. Both of these women have lived in the community and are familiar with the problems of residents. Branch is very supportive of the SCR function. It forms a front line between school and community.

Students enjoy and benefit from participation in Title I programs. The reading scores of Title I students increase more than those of non-Title I students. Because nearly all students at Ericson are potentially eligible for Title I, Branch and the Ericson staff make an effort to rotate students into the program so that all students can participate at some time in their education.

In 1978, Ericson was evaluated as part of a qualitative and quantitative Title I evaluation. Some conclusions were:

> The quality of Title I programs is affected by the ability of the field administration to do outstanding work. The inner-city administration needs the resources which Title I provides to do outstanding work. A Title I school can have better than citywide attendance, children can come to school on time, can attend to tasks and can achieve at a rate better than their peers. *Title I alone cannot accomplish this without complete administrative supervision and without teachers whose effort exceeds normal expectation* [my emphasis]. This investigator found that inner-city children's achievement was positively affected by 90% of the teachers at Ericson who were performing above average. The faculty at Ericson was united and put its efforts into having pupils succeed instead of dissipating their energies in less productive areas. (Siegfried G. Mueller, *A Quantitative/Qualitative Title I Evaluation*, Chicago Board of Education, September 1978, p. 1).

Under Branch's administration, Title I funds have been used effectively. Ericson is considered to have heavy Title I involvement. Mary Jo Woolfolk, assistant principal, is the Ericson Title I contact. The Chicago Board of Education Title I evaluator considers Ericson well organized.

The School Philosophy: Co-Parenting: A Framework for Success

In the fall of 1978, Black, the adjustment teacher, commented to Branch that in every instance, no matter what the problem, the Ericson administration never varied on the stance it took. At this time, there was a new teacher at Ericson, and Black had been attempting to explain to her how the school worked. Branch was intrigued, and with her encouragement, Black attempted to formalize the posture into a school philosophy. Her statement merits printing in full:

> Our children come through the door every morning secure in the knowledge that for at least for the next six hours they can be just that, *children*. We become surrogate parents and provide the nurture and protection which that demands. We are parent number two!
>
> As parent number two, we structure all procedures within the school so that the child can find security in a routine where boundaries are set for him and his energies can be devoted to learning. From this comes the freedom to instruct. The problem with many of our children is that parent number one, mother or father, has abrogated his/her role to the child, forcing the youngster at an early age to be his/her own keeper, overseer, and director! A conflict develops with the dismissal bell—at that time he or she must make a miraculous transition from dependent, secure student-child to autonomous, self-directing adult. The process of this transition often leads to insecurities and/or conflicts within the child. Disruptive behavior, poor peer relations, withdrawal from the learning process—are these symptoms or the resultant facts of such pressure?
>
> When we observe these behaviors, we have a conference with parent number one and begin to explore the problems. The parent is usually cooperative. We begin by explaining that raising children is a cooperative effort between parent number one and parent number two. As we continue our exploration together, we keep reinforcing the idea of co-parenting: parent number one assisting parent number two in the learning process.
>
> The role of the administrator is to inservice the staff so that they fully understand the school's philosophy that *children are children in the learning process* and should not be forced into adult roles and responsibilities. Another vital role is an ongoing education of the parents so that they fully understand the roles of parent number one and parent number two.
>
> If either parent surrenders his role to the child, the learning process is in jeopardy. The success of the child and ultimately the school is predicated on the ability of everyone to know his role and internalize it. As each parent develops the skills for the co-parenting role, we will continue to provide the kind of insulation our children need to thrive.

Although this formal presentation of the Ericson philosophy is a recent development, it articulates the posture that has developed since Branch became principal. As a lofty ideal, this statement is impressive, but the writers observed the implementation of this philosophy in many cases. Teachers frequently referred to the boys and girls at Ericson as "our children" or "my children" with pride. In other schools, children are expected to "grow up, be responsible, act like ladies and gentlemen," or other various metaphors for adulthood. Such expressions are not used at Ericson.

A good example of co-parenting is the following: the adjustment teacher, the learning disabilities teacher, the school psychologist, a social worker, and a teacher/nurse were in attendance at a "staffing" with the mother of an Ericson fifth-grader. The learning disabilities teacher reported first:

> There is a gap between aptitude and achievement. The gap is that he should be at the fifth-grade level, but he is reading at the second-grade level. He has trouble copying and has trouble hearing. I wish Ron [not his real name] could speak better, because he has trouble hearing sounds. Sweating over something is not fun. We know that. It turns Ron off. He understands the school rules and is a good boy, but because he's having trouble reading, he pushes away from it, and it's the teacher's job to push him back. That can lead to trouble. Perhaps we can help him in that area. Ron is also having some visual problems. He has trouble with the word order in sentences and cannot recognize and name a letter.

The teacher's attitude is informative and reassuring. She lets the mother know that the Ericson staff has an interest in her son, knows what his progress is, and wants to help. She speaks slowly and distinctly, smiling encouragingly at the mother, and she concludes by explaining a special program for learning disabilities where she could give Ron some individual help.

The staffing continues with a review of Ron's record. His attendance had been poor but has improved. Had Ron been ill? The nurse felt that anemia might be a problem and wrote a note for the mother detailing needed blood tests. Vision and hearing screenings were also recommended. Throughout the conference the staff attempted to reassure the mother saying, "Ron is a good boy, a smart boy, and with special help he can read at grade level."

The conference ended with the goals for Ron explained to the mother.

> You have a lot of support here at Ericson to help with the children. We hope you'll stay in the district. Ron will see the special teacher 40 minutes per day. Continue good attendance. At home, listen to Ron. He wants to share his viewpoints on good things, so give him this opportunity. We will be patient here at school. We want to help Ron to see that he can be good in school. Yes, he can be good. The boys and girls here are good. They make mistakes, they can do right or wrong. It's O.K. to make mistakes because they're still children. We need to improve his self-concept as a student.

The mother and staff present signed a contract that summarized Ron's goals and the agreed-upon program.

Staffings are an essential part of the school program. Parents must understand the goals for their children. The security children find in the Ericson School as a structured, supportive, environment for learning cannot be overstressed. Further, it supports parents who are now assured that their children are important at Ericson and that the staff cares for and nurtures them. This message is communicated in many ways but the school philosophy sums it up.

Summary

Although Leif Ericson is a high poverty, inner-city school on Chicago's west side, it is successful. It is the researchers' impression that if students attend regularly they will achieve and will read at grade level. However, because Ericson is an inner-city school, serving an unstable population, there are a number of factors that constantly inhibit full achievement by all students. New students enter Ericson often in midterm, sometimes "just in time to mess up the Iowa test averages," as Branch put it. Obviously, when students are not in a position to take full advantage of the school program, its impact on them individually is lessened.

Despite the disrupting influence of shifting population, Ericson School remains stable, the administration in control. Hallways and classrooms are attractive. Students are orderly and respect their teachers and each other. One is certain that students feel secure at Ericson where they find a good learning environment and an outstanding instructional program. Parents are encouraged to stay in the district whenever possible and attendance is mandated and closely supervised.

All of this is possible because the principal and the majority of the staff work above expectations. They are willing to put in the extra effort and time for these children. Branch feels fortunate to have been "blessed with good health and energy." She encourages her staff to take recreational vacations so that they can return to their jobs refreshed. Even so, one does wonder how long her staff can work over capacity. They do find their jobs rewarding, but will this be enough?

A number of incidents in Ericson's recent past stand out as crucial for Ericson's success. Certainly, the school has flowered under Branch's leadership since May 1973. She has created an environment of growth for staff and students alike. She supports the classroom teacher. "My job is to help you, to help make your job easier, to help you do a better job," she tells them. She has provided leadership for change. Some changes were initiated by her personally, such as the closed campus. In other instances, her teachers took the lead and she embraced and supported their efforts. For example, Dolores Perez was particularly influential in coordinating the full implementation of Continuous Progress Mastery Learning.

Branch monitors all school activity as well as interaction between the school and parents. Her guidance is all pervasive. At the same time, she allows and nurtures individual achievement and incentive. This combination is appreciated by her staff

Title I funding has certainly played an important role in Ericson's success. Especially, it has provided money for additional teachers and several special programs to support the instructional program. The two school community representatives have been especially useful for serving the school community. Their function is particularly needed in this low-income neighborhood.

One is left with the feeling that although reading scores at Ericson have improved, it is not tangibles like test scores that best describe Ericson's success. Part of the answer may lie in the school philosophy of coparenting combined with Continuous Progress and positive reinforcement for students and staff. Certainly some success is due to the beautiful hallways and classrooms in the school. From the moment one enters the door, it can be seen that this is a place to learn, a school that takes itself and its responsibility seriously.

Mary W. French Elementary School
Decatur, Illinois

By

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Decatur School District 61

Exceptional urban elementary schools are alive and well. One fine example is the Mary W. French Elementary School in Decatur, Illinois. Decatur sits on a lake shore and is surrounded by the farms that produce the crops for its corn and soybean processing plants. An industrial hub for central Illinois, Decatur is a blue collar community of 90,000 inhabitants. It is referred to by some as the motor grader capital and the soybean capital of the world.

School/Community Characteristics

The Mary W. French Elementary School, one of 24 elementary schools in Decatur, is a kindergarten through grade 6 school with 375 students. It is situated in the middle of a racially integrated area adjacent to the downtown business district. Built in 1914 with a new addition in 1975, it is an attractive building, air-conditioned and carpeted throughout, with a capacity of 470 students.

Classrooms in the new section house the lower grades. Each classroom has its own restroom and water supply. There are movable closets at the entrance to each room. An all-purpose room in the school is used as a gymnasium, auditorium, band room, and cafeteria. It seats 120 at one time and students eat lunch in two shifts. The classrooms in the older part of the school have two entrances, but have a door on only one. This creates some distraction when teachers hold music classes. The materials center is located in the central part of the old building on the lower level. This is the core of the school and many activities emanate from here. There are small rooms for the learning disabilities specialist, the speech therapist, and the nurse.

French School was consolidated with an adjacent elementary school in 1974-75 and the boundaries were merged. Three of the school's present boundaries are natural boundaries for the community; the central business district on the east, U.S. Route 36 on the north, and the Sangamon River on the south.

The western boundary varied during the period of this study. When the percentage of black students exceeded the quota permitted under a desegregation plan established for the school district by the Illinois Office of Education, the western district boundary was shifted. The quota is 15% plus or minus the district average, which was 24.6% for the 1978-79 school year. The black student enrollment at French School was 41.9% on 1 March 1979, and earlier that year it was nearly 43%.

The community served by French School is fairly homogeneous with respect to social class and ethnic background. The ancestors of some residents of the area were early settlers of Decatur. Homes of an historical nature are within walking distance of the school, but few students are drawn from these homes.

Other residents in the area are transient. They live in homes that have been converted into apartments or in apartment complexes. During this study, the district's director of research expressed concern that a considerable number of black children of low socioeconomic status were being drawn to the school from a five-block area adjacent to U.S. Route 36. However, within the three-month period of this study, the number of black students from the area had decreased to zero, yet the area itself had not changed economically or racially. The "transfer-out" figures for the school averaged 22.8% for both 1976-77 and 1977-78. By February 1979, 32.7% of the students had moved from the school.

Additionally, three after-school day-care centers located within the school's boundaries add to this transient phenomenon, especially in the primary grades. About 31% of the students in French School are enrolled from these day-care centers. Besides providing a transient population, the day-care centers create another problem for the school. Children of working parents enrolled in the day-care centers are above the poverty level; thus they raise the average socioeconomic level of the students at the school. As a result, annually the school borders on losing Title I funds for extra reading services.

Twenty-six percent of students at French School receive free lunch, compared to 21% for the district as a whole. This figure for French School was 18% in 1977 and 21% in 1976.

With the exception of the students from the day-care centers, all students in French School come from the neighborhood immediately surrounding the school. The school staff and the day-care staff foster a neighborhood identity. Students enrolled in the day-care centers may "go home" after school with neighborhood friends if both children's parents provide permission. Also, neighborhood children may go to play with children at the day-care centers if parents approve.

Staff Characteristics

The student/staff ratio at French school is the district average, since a formula is used to allocate staff to all the elementary schools. The average class size for French School in November 1978 was 27.43 in the primary grades and 27.0 in the intermediate grades. Average class size for the district was 25.54 and 26.42 respectively. Fourteen regular classroom teachers, a full-time learning resource center (LRC) consultant, and a principal are assigned to French School. Other special services include band, orchestra, vocal music, physical education, speech therapy, learning disability and remedial reading classes, and a school nurse, social worker, and psychologist. All of the special services staff work part time.

The regular classroom teachers average eight years experience at French, over 13 years experience in the district, and 19 years of experience overall. The principal has been at the French School for seven years. Eleven of the regular classroom staff have been at the school for the five years studied. Seven of this group were at French School prior to the move out of the building for the renovation period, and the rest joined the group at the temporary site, Gastman Elementary School. Of the other regular classroom staff, one has been there for three years and one was new in 1978. All regular classroom teachers are female.

The staff, other than regular classroom teachers, have been with the school varying lengths of time. Four have been there for four years; four have been there for three years, and six are in their first year of employment at French School.

Fifty percent of the regular classroom teachers, the LRC consultant, and the principal all have master's degrees. Approximately 65% of the other special services staff have master's degrees. The staff had only one formal inservice program during the period of this study. However, over one-half of the staff had taken graduate courses and attended workshops and conferences during the period. Every staff member had attended at least one conference or workshop in the period studied.

The school had from one to three teacher aides throughout the five-year study period. Most aides were assigned under a district formula to adjust for irregular class sizes. One aide is based at the school but also assists in the swimming instruction program for all fourth-graders in the district.

Throughout the period, parents have volunteered in the kindergarten and in the materials center, and have assisted in special projects. One mother has helped with music, since that is her area of expertise. A former teacher is now working four days a week as a volunteer in the fifth-grade classes.

Student Characteristics

When asked, "What were the three greatest changes at French School in the last five years?" the first response from over half the staff and a high percentage of the parents was, "The kids.... They're harder to discipline.... They're not as high academically.... They're more immature.... They don't have the background and need more help." This same perception was supported by central office personnel.

Contrary to expectation, the average student test scores at French School did not decline when more children from low socioeconomic backgrounds came to the school. The local study team concluded that French School demonstrated superior performance at the primary and intermediate levels with scores above the national norm.

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Mary W. French Elementary School

The data in the table below serve as evidence of continued student achievement in reading and mathematics throughout the five-year study period.

Achievement Data Reported as
Mean Grade Equivalent (National Norms) for
Total Reading (TR) and Total Math (TM)*

	Years									
	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978	
Grade	TR	TM	TR	TM	TR	TM	TR	TM	TR	TM
1	**	**	2.2	1.8	2.5	1.9	2.4	1.9	2.4	1.9
2	**	**	3.3	2.9	3.4	3.1	3.7	3.1	3.6	3.4
3	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.2	3.9
4	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.2	4.6	4.8
5	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.5	5.7	5.5	5.6	5.3	6.1	5.8
6	6.8	6.3	6.3	6.6	6.7	6.4	6.8	6.7	6.5	6.3

*Science Research Associates achievement tests

**Test not given

Data from the French Elementary School indicate that student performance has been average or better compared to the districtwide data for the five-year study.

A complete analysis is made annually of all achievement data using a regression model. Patterns of growth are compared subtest by subtest to detect differences between 1) growth rates districtwide and those experienced in previous years, and 2) growth rates within a building or class and district rates. T-tests for patterns significantly different are used to document growth of students in individual schools and individual classes.

As a double check on French School for this study, additional analyses were run on the 1977-1978 growth data. The additional data showed that the "average-or-better" growth held true not only for the population as a whole but also for the lowest quartile students and for the minority student population.

Building Renovation

Is there an event or a series of events that coalesce to create an exceptional urban elementary school? The local team interviewers studying the Mary W. French Elementary School concluded that one critical event in the resurgence of this school was the reconstruction of the school building itself.

Early in the 1970s the voters of Decatur approved the issuance of bonds for upgrading the quality of its school buildings. The bond issue included new construction, reconstruction, and the closing and/or razing of several existing schools. The Mary W. French Elementary School was directly affected by this vote because the school board 1) chose to close the E. A. Gastman Elementary, 2) decided that the Mary W. French School would be renovated and an addition built on to it, and 3) decided to merge the student populations and faculties of Gastman and French.

The individuals interviewed in the study concurred that the decisions cited above were critical events in the resurgence of the present French Elementary School. Fifty-five percent of both the parents and the regular teaching staff and all of the special staff cite the building renovation and the construction of the addition as a major factor of change in the school's recent evolution. It is important to note, however, that there are several perceptions of the renovation period at French School.

A Symbol: The Neighborhood School Is Preserved

It is believed by many parents that the decision to renovate French School was symbolic. One former school board member and a parent in the school's community stated, "It was a commitment on the part of the district, parents, and staff to maintain inner-city services...."

Another parent described the symbol another way. "French is really a miniscule historical picture of community development in Decatur... one of the oldest schools and yet, because it has a long history of staff and parent involvement in the building per se, it has survived...."

Another parent reminisced, "I remember a meeting about it.... When I saw with what great affection that neighborhood regarded that school... the history of that school... it became very clear to me that there was no way that school could ever be torn down or moved.... We had no alternative but to retain it and bring the Gastman children into it.... The Gastman children were from a contiguous neighborhood.... It was just some more of the same neighborhood, and that made it very nice...."

This same feeling of "neighborhood" was not evident at Gastman School, because approximately three-fourths of the students were not from the neighborhood. Two of the present day-care centers were located in Gastman's area, and over half of the student enrollment came from these centers. Additionally, a high percentage of Gastman's students were transported to the school to receive special education services.

The Move: Creating Unity Through Cooperation

Parents and staff of the French School concur that the most important element of the school is the shared commitment of its faculty and administration. Further, they feel that this unity of purpose emerged in the summer of 1974. The staff members were notified near the end of the 1973-74 school year that the renovation was to be done, and they would move into the Gastman School for the period of the reconstruction. The staff involved in the move remember well the mood of cooperation that summer. The French faculty collaborated with one another, and the Gastman faculty members did all they could to make the move an easy one.

Central office administrators report that the cooperative mood was set early by the Gastman principal. She decided to take an early retirement so that the two faculties would have only one principal and thereby not function as two schools in one building, as was being considered. The present principal remembers much of the same unselfishness on the part of the Gastman faculty. "The move, despite many problems, was an excellent example of cooperation. We merged two excellent, committed faculties. Marion (the Gastman principal) and her secretary were both still on duty when we moved in, but they voluntarily had their desks and files moved out into the hallway so that Ruby (the French secretary) and I could get started in the office.... The rest of the staff, both faculties, were in and out of the school all summer getting things ready to start school the next fall."

The New School: A Warm, Friendly Climate

The French faculty perceive the renovation positively for a second reason. They find it a warm, friendly building. The architect, they believe, creatively merged the new addition with the old school. The bottom floor of the old part of the building is now an open space housing the new materials center. It is the core of the school. It helps create a mood of quiet study and learning because of several entrance ways from outside and other parts of the school. The building is carpeted throughout. This adds to the aura of quiet study. One faculty member stated, "I think the physical part of it [change] has been important; for instance, air conditioning.... We are comfortable. Carpeting makes it quiet. I suppose you can take a lot more committee work, group work, or other disruptions that would be disruptive in a different building."

A parent described the building's effect this way: "I am glad to see that the architects retained the integrity of the school... not the building on the outside... but I think it's super on the inside.... The old and new building fit and flow together.... They cared about the old ceilings and all the special effects... and we appreciate that.... It's a part of the community...."

School Climate

A building renovation may provide a catalyst for action in a school, but physical change in a school means nothing unless the group working within that school perceives it as a stimulus to student learning.

Unanimously, the parents and the auxiliary staff stated that the element most critical in creating a positive learning climate in the Mary W. French School was a group of teachers "who care... who have a sincere interest... who are concerned about their children."

One parent expressed it this way: "I like the personal contact. They keep you informed as a parent about your children... the problems...." Another stated, "I like the approach the French teachers use.... They try to know the students and the situation better." Another stated, "The teachers care and ask about your children after they've left the school. There's a strictness there, but it's a form of caring; concern for the children."

One of the former support specialists described the teachers' care and interest in another way: "They do tend to look in that school at students who are making growth as being successful whether they are at grade level or below grade level."

Another specialist described the classroom teachers in this way: "I think the main thing I notice is that they really care about each child, and they know where they are all the time; and they really keep a finger on them, but they do it in love."

The classroom teachers, as a group, did not state that they cared more about their students than other teachers in the district cared about theirs, but their commitment to their children's learning could be seen easily in the interviews. As reported earlier, teachers correctly perceived that with the influx of students with lower socioeconomic backgrounds, achievement was declining. However, the teachers also reported that their students achieved well and performed quite admirably, both academically and behaviorally, in districtwide activities such as the Young Authors writing program, extramural sports, or the performing arts.

The principal, when asked about this commitment of teachers, provided an interesting analysis. "Teachers have to be somewhat dissatisfied with their entering students to be successful.... Good teachers can't tolerate lack of achievement in students.... They'll work and they'll pull until they get what they want out of that child."

One of the specialists in the school described this commitment. "They do attempt to meet the needs of all students. These teachers expect their children to perform—expectancy is very high, and if a child isn't performing, they try to do something about it."

One fourth-grade student, who joined an interview with his parents, was asked why he liked French School. He responded, "Because they teach good. They really ask you why... explain and help you with what you do wrong."

The classroom teachers describe their fellow teachers' concern and care for one another. One of the teachers who walked with a cane due to a strength-sapping chronic ailment stated, "I have this room because the teacher that had this room before asked the principal if she could change rooms with me so I wouldn't have to climb stairs all the time."

Another teacher described this feeling that the staff had for one another. "The best thing is the way the teachers cooperate. I have been in three other schools.... I landed at French and there was all the difference in the world. I was immediately made welcome. People here always share things.... It's an entirely different atmosphere."

This same concept was echoed by another. "I really, really think that this school is very open. If someone wants to share ideas she shares them. No one feels that those are 'my' art projects or those are 'my' topics for today. Everybody shares."

Expectations: Students Will Learn

The teachers and principal believe the students can and will learn. This applies to citizenship and responsibility as well as academic subjects. Teachers feel free to correct any child in the building. They agree upon what things are important for children and keep their children on task with materials appropriate for the student and the task.

Three questions asked of each classroom teacher in a survey instrument were: 1) What are your goals for your students? 2) Do you think the majority of teachers at French have these goals? 3) How do you know? One hundred percent of the teachers answered that they shared the same major goal for students. It was to help them learn as much as they can in both basic academic subjects and social skills. The teachers were sure they shared the goal, they said, "because we can see it in one another's teaching..., because we talk to each other..., because we cooperate..., because we listen and observe."

This assurance that the teachers' goals for their students were the same as the school goals was confirmed later in the personal interview. When asked whether the district requirement to develop school goals was helpful in creating positive change at French, the answer was, "No, that was a waste of time. We already had our goals."

This stress on the basic skills was also emphasized by all of the support teachers. "They are here to teach basics... really get to education... a teaching of what needs to be taught, but at the same time they use innovative methods to do this." Another echoed the same feeling. "Very conservative... highly organized." Another reported, "The teachers in this building take the teacher's guide seriously.... I think they tend to follow the manual as a bible, more or less."

Neighborhood School: A Belief, Not Fact

Despite the fact that one out of three children comes from outside the neighborhood boundaries, 55% of the auxiliary staff, 61% of the teachers, and 44% of the parents reported that French School was a neighborhood school. This belief could be simply an interpretation of the "permission-to-go-home-with-my-friend" concept that evolved between the day-care centers, parents, and the school. That ruling does much to make children feel a part of the neighborhood. Second, this belief could be based on the fact that this school has no school buses coming and going, or it simply could be that the staff continually emphasizes this attitude. One teacher stated it this way: "I think the fact that it is a neighborhood school, I think that's what gives us all the support we have... knowing the families... the fact they're within distance.... We know that if mom or dad need to get here, we can either call them or go get them; or they will come here.... There is a cooperation between home and school.... They feel a certain pride in French School, because it is theirs. A lot of their parents have gone here. I think that's important."

One of the school specialists expressed this attitude in another way. "I think we have an extremely good cross section, socioeconomically, ability-wise—a good center, not just the extremes."

Another support specialist stated, "I would describe it as a neighborhood school—all kinds—a microcosm here."

One parent, somewhat more pragmatic than the others, gave a most realistic view of the situation. "We are a neighborhood school, but because of the day-care centers our population is enlarged to a standard that's realistic in terms of the economics of providing an education in the 1970s."

Parent Involvement

The principal stated that she has a basic open-door policy for parents. Parents are encouraged to come to the school to visit and to observe what goes on in the school. Without being asked, two-thirds of the parents confirmed this statement. One white parent, a former teacher, when asked about her contact with the school, responded, "A lot.... I enjoy going to school. Last year I had an interesting experience—I've always been on friendly terms, I've always felt welcome to go in on anything—but my child's teacher asked me to teach American music. I did, and I really enjoyed it."

Another parent, a black mother, responded, "Quite a bit—I just walk—feel free to go in. The principal has done this. In the paper several years ago something came up about checking records, so I thought I'd go in and check the records. Without any questions, I was allowed to look."

Others noted that they were encouraged to come to visit, to attend PTA, and to volunteer time, especially in the kindergarten and the materials center.

Leadership

The principal of French School seems to fit the pattern that Daniel Levine described in his 1969 study of the Chicago elementary schools. The principal of the high achieving, low socioeconomic status school was one that 1) took his/her cues from teachers and staff rather than central administration, 2) was willing to be more independent, 3) had a genuine empathy for his/her staff and community, and 4) was willing to support the staff even though it meant bucking the sytem.

The principal of French School is viewed by her classroom staff as being very supportive. They see her as someone willing to listen, to support them in dealings with students and parents, and someone who has the same goals as they have for the children. All of the support personnel confirmed this view. One support specialist noted this finding about the classroom teachers' perceptions of the principal: "They respect her, look up to her. She does a lot for them. She has a good faculty. She knows it, and she lets them know it."

The principal is a quiet but firm decision maker. She believes that people who are involved in implementing a decision should be involved in making it. Furthermore, she believes that parents need to be involved when decisions are made about their child. This description of her style, however, should not lead one to believe that the principal doesn't have a forceful impact on French School. She expressed her forcefulness when she was asked, "Are your classrooms open or more structured?" Her response was given with some vigor: They are mostly structured because the teachers know that the principal wants them structured."

Two out of every three parents interviewed believed that the principal was a positive force at the school in the period studied. One parent put it this way: "We have a principal who knows all the kids... knows how to relate to children and parents... runs a tight ship, but one with great affection. The children regard her as their friend, but they also respect her as the administrator in charge of the school."

Her fellow elementary principals see her as a rather outspoken colleague who borders on being the maverick. Support for this maverick view is the fact that French is the only elementary school with no "pull-out" programs such as Title I, speech, or learning disability instruction in the mornings. The principal fought to preserve the morning as a self-contained classroom, a time reserved for instruction in communication and mathematics skills. Another example of her independence: A recent survey form was sent to all fifth and sixth grades from the central office. The survey questions had been excerpted from a parent survey and were not rewritten at a lower reading level. At most schools the teachers had to spend considerable time working with the students in order to fill out the forms. The French School principal returned the survey to the central administration, not choosing to have the students complete it. Her leadership style is most definitely independent.

Conclusion

The local study team concluded that there were several variables that interacted in the period of study to create the positive learning environment in the Mary W. French Elementary School. First, there was the renovation that merged two excellent, committed faculties who provided a symbol of support to the inner-city neighborhood and generated a warm, friendly environment in which to study, learn, and work. Second, there is a positive school climate maintained by a staff committed to student learning, high academic expectations for their students, and maintaining support from the neighborhood. The positive climate is strengthened by the parents who believe that the educational program is sound and that they can be involved at French should they desire it. A third element contributing to the school climate is the quiet but firm leadership of the principal.

Washington Park Elementary School
Cincinnati, Ohio

By

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Washington Park Elementary School

When the German immigrants came to Cincinnati, Ohio, they settled north of the Miami Canal (now Central Parkway). The banks of the canal reminded them of the Rhine River in Germany; thus, the German settlement came to be called Over the Rhine. When the Cincinnati Board of Education needed a site for a new school to take the place of two older ones that were due for demolition, they chose Over the Rhine, an area steeped in the German culture for Washington Park Elementary School (WPE).

The Germans' love of music led to the beginning of the annual May Festival, and Ruben Springer, who enjoyed the music so much, contributed a large sum of money in 1878 to help build the now famous Music Hall. This hall eventually came to be the western boundary of the future Washington Park Elementary School.

The southern boundary of WPE is one of Cincinnati's oldest parks, Washington Park. It is not a large park, but its green grass and shade trees provide a pleasant spot in this otherwise barren urban area where there are few yards. North of the school are the aged, multi-unit tenement buildings, once the original homes of the proud German settlers. Stark realities of contemporary life create the eastern boundary—a day-care center and walk-in center for alcoholics.

Before construction of the three-story glass and brick building in 1958, the community, which was then predominantly white Appalachian middle- to low-income, was involved in developing the goals and philosophy of the new school. The community wanted a lot of glass in their school "so that we can look in all of the time."

The Board of Education, in conjunction with the University of Cincinnati, designated WPE as a demonstration school for training teacher education students in an inner-city experience. This was an added impetus to attract resilient, open-minded, well-trained, and dedicated staff with the goal of providing the students in the Over the Rhine community with the best possible educational opportunities.

The faculty, chosen from schools throughout the district, was completely integrated. The average age was 35. The majority had completed a master's degree in education, and all had successfully taught in the system for at least five years.

The doors opened in September 1958 to a capacity of 1,100 students. WPE has 32 classrooms, a cafeteria, and a combination gymnasium/auditorium. Innovations in the design of the corridors and the rooms (coat room and storage areas along the corridor inside the rooms) made the rooms two feet longer than most being built at that time. Glass panels along the entrance wall of each classroom allowed for much natural light, while at the same time permitting the community to "look in."

In 1958 WPE had two administrators, both Caucasian, one male and one female. There were four classes at each grade level, homogeneously grouped according to ability and staffed with two black and two white teachers. There were two classes for the educably mentally retarded and three classes for the visually impaired. WPE was the center for the elementary-age visually impaired children in Cincinnati.

In 1979 only two teachers remained from the original staff. However, a large number have been with the school since its early years. Five principals have led the school in its 21-year history, two of whom were previously assistant principals at the school.

For several years Sixth District School, a satellite of WPE located two blocks northwest, shared the same administration as WPE. In June 1973 the Board of Education closed Sixth District due to low enrollment, and the majority of the staff and students came to WPE.

With urban renewal in other parts of the inner-city (1965 through 1969), the Over the Rhine area became the home of the displaced black matriarchal families. The community and school changed from predominantly white Appalachian to predominantly black. As the socioeconomic level of the Over the Rhine area changed from middle- and low-income to mostly welfare recipients, WPE became one of the first district schools to receive federal monies. New programs and personnel were added through federal funds, such as Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Title I Reading Program, all-day kindergarten, and preschool classes. Through Title IV of ESEA, a resource center was expanded. Other special monies enabled the establishment of a daily breakfast and lunch program, after-school tutorial program, visiting teacher/school social worker, medical services of nurse and dentist, psychologist, and speech therapist. With the ever-changing community surrounding the school, WPE has not lost sight of its original goal: to provide the students in the Over the Rhine community with the best possible educational opportunities.

Characteristics of Washington Park Elementary Population

A demographic description of WPE quickly identifies it as an urban elementary school. In 1977-78 about 92% of its students were from low-income families; 77% qualified for the free lunch program, another indication of the poverty level. During the same period the absentee rate was 13%, higher than a national average of 10% but well below that of most urban schools. The student mobility rate was 55%, indicating a very unstable neighborhood. Yet WPE is a school where there have been steady gains in achievement in reading and math over the past four years. As is true of most urban elementary schools, the average achievement level is below national norms, but reading levels have risen from 10% achieving at or above national norms in 1974-75 to 23% doing so in 1977-78. In math, 17% were achieving at or above national norms in 1974-75, but this had risen to 25% in 1977-78.

Students at WPE generally express positive attitudes about their school. In surveys of student attitudes in 1977-78, 78% expressed favorable attitudes toward reading, school, and their teachers. Over 60% responded affirmatively to the survey items "teachers care about me" and "teachers help me with my problems." An indication of positive student self-concepts is seen in their survey responses; 67%

stated "people like me;" 83% stated "I'm a happy person;" 77% stated "I make friends easily."

Washington Park Elementary 1978-79

Today Washington Park Elementary School is the same three-story glass and brick building it was when built in 1958, although several of the glass windows, having fallen victim to the stress and strain of the inner-city life, have been replaced by blue, nonbreakable plexiglass that does not allow as much light into the school as the community had hoped for in 1958. WPE is one of the few inner-city schools that did not experience a drop in enrollment from 1970 to 1979 due to the "flight to the suburbs." The enrollment in 1978-79 was 668.

Many fun and exciting activities happened within the walls of WPE in 1978-79. Two newspapers, three television stations, and two radio stations did features on the school. "The Whole Child," the inaugural program in a CBS television series on the 1979 International Year of the Child, featured our Early Bird News (EBN) on 29 April 1979. EBN is a student-written and -produced TV news program.

WPE students in grades 3 and 6 participated in a pilot program designed to develop minimum competencies in reading, mathematics, and writing. Students of exceptional ability in mathematics in kindergarten through grade 6 participated in the Gifted and Talented Program.

An Associated Press Teletype was installed in the television studio for use in the language arts program in grades 3 through 6.

The Kroger Company, a midwestern supermarket chain, "adopted" Washington Park as its partner-in-education. This is a program for business organizations to become knowledgeable about the educational programs in their city and for schools to learn about business. WPE is the only elementary school that is participating in this type of partnership.

Washington Park is the only district elementary school to have a summer program. Roger Haynes, the principal, received funding for the summer academy from a private organization. The program will accelerate the academic program of WPE and enhance the image of the student. The overall objective is to improve the student's reading, mathematics, and written and oral language skills.

Methodology

In the self-study of Washington Park Elementary School, the local study team progressed through six phases in order to identify the critical incidents thought to be associated with the success of this urban school.

Phase 1

This phase consisted of a thorough review of the literature; more than 200 documents were reviewed. The primary purpose of this review was to learn those significant variables found to be relevant to either mathematics and reading achievement or those critical events associated with exceptional schools. In this phase no attempt was made to exclude variables. Rather, any variables mentioned as significant to reading or mathematics achievement or as characteristic of an exceptional school were considered.

Phase 2

The above-mentioned variables or characteristics were then used to develop a survey instrument for teachers, parents, and administrators at WPE. The items in the instrument required a Likert-type scale response. After the survey was administered to these groups, it was analyzed to determine which positive characteristics that applied to other successful schools/projects also applied to Washington Park Elementary School.

Phase 3

To corroborate the findings from Phase 2, in-depth interviews were conducted with a sample of parents, administrators, teachers, and paraprofessionals who answered the survey. In addition to the interviews, an open-ended survey was conducted with all staff members, asking them to identify the factors that made Washington Park an outstanding school. Finally, a three-item "Impressionnaire" instrument was given to "friends of Washington Park" to see how well their reactions substantiated or deviated from staff and parent views.

Phase 4

To corroborate further the findings in Phase 2, special interviews were conducted with the principal and with the reading and math teachers. These follow-up interviews in both Phases 3 and 4 were conducted not only to corroborate the survey findings but also to ascertain the reasons people responded as they did. This additional information turned out to be indispensable when the time came to describe the circumstances (who participated, who was affected, and what triggered the events) surrounding each critical event identified.

Phase 5

To gather additional data that might have been overlooked in the interviews, math and reading classes were videotaped to determine other factors (e.g., type of instruction) that might be related to reading and math achievement. Other unobtrusive measures were also used in this phase to collect data pertaining to reading and math achievement. The purpose of this technique was to gather data in a more informal and hopefully more objective way. Systemwide surveys of students and teachers were also used in this phase to gather additional information pertaining to critical incidents.

Once these five phases were completed, it was assumed that critical incidents relating to reading and math would be accurately identified. However, more subjective digging would also have to be done by the local study team in order to explain the circumstances surrounding each event, i.e., who was involved, why it happened.

Phase 6

This phase involved a thorough analysis of the special interviews, the videotaping and other unobtrusive measures, and the systemwide surveys in order to delineate more clearly the critical incidents relating to reading and math achievement. This analysis was largely carried out by the local study team, who were knowledgeable about the school as well as the system as a whole. Once the critical incidents were identified, they pretty much set the parameters for establishing how this case study would be written.

Six Critical Incidents

Through analysis of the data, six critical incidents have been identified as contributing to the reputation of Washington Park Elementary School as an exemplary urban elementary school. The critical incidents, their impact on the sustained improvement in reading and math achievement, and how they relate, interact, and reinforce each other are detailed in the following section.

1. The Principal Himself—Roger Keith Haynes

When Roger Haynes became principal of Washington Park Elementary School in 1973, little did anyone realize the impact that he would have upon the school, the community, the staff, and particularly the students and their achievement.

Perhaps Haynes knew, for he is a strong believer in himself. Haynes is convinced that he can do almost anything he sets out to do. His arrival at WPE presented a challenge. He was determined to make his school the "Big W.P.," the "best school in Cincinnati," although he realized that the odds were against him. The school was located in the heart of the inner-city, characterized by low socioeconomic status, high pupil mobility, low student achievement, and a high concentration of black and Appalachian students. (The student population was 70% black in 1979).

Haynes came to WPE with a wealth of educational experience (administrative positions with Cincinnati Public Schools and assistant principalship and principalship at another Cincinnati school) and a strong commitment to the education of children.

As assistant principal at Washington Park for three years, he had already gained great insight into the students' needs, community resources, and staff dynamics.

When the former principal of the school was transferred to another city school, Haynes (who at the time was principal of another city school) specifically requested the principalship of WPE. He realized its problems, its needs, and he set goals for himself as the school's leader.

Roger Haynes realized that in making his school "the best," changes would have to occur to promote greater achievement by his students, to secure a top-notch staff, and to implement programs that would be most beneficial to the students of Washington Park school. He recognized the need for strong leadership in an inner-city school and was confident that he could meet that challenge, since he had the same Appalachian heritage as many of the students.

Roger Haynes can best be described as dynamic, effervescent, accepting, energetic, firm, concerned, well-read, innovative, and a dreamer. He is optimistic and has a very warm sense of humor. His personal qualities, combined with a somewhat aggressive nature, have enhanced the total school learning experience.

Haynes enjoys children and children like and respect him. He has established excellent rapport with his students. Parents of the school note, "He kids around a lot with the children, but he is serious and they respect him very much." During the course of the school day, Haynes maintains a "joking" banter with the students and staff members. He has been observed asking the assisant principal jokingly when something out of the ordinary has happened, "What kind of school are you running here?"

Parents come into the office during the morning hours for conferences with the principal or assistant principal. Haynes has established such rapport with the parents that in most cases they leave the conference smiling, no matter what the situation.

Haynes spends the entire lunch hour with intermediate and primary students to promote good discipline and cafeteria manners (including eating habits), to relieve teachers from duty, and to interact with students. After lunch, it is not unusual for him to stop by classrooms to say hello, and at the same keep in tune with the instruction that is taking place. Prior to the dismissal of school, the principal and assistant principal post themselves at different corners outside the building to control "action" on the street, and again, to interact with the students.

Though Haynes had no specialized training in elementary reading or math in either his graduate (educational administration) or undergraduate (political science) studies, it is obvious that he understands the importance of reading. He is himself a voracious reader. He quizzes children on what books they have read and rewards those who do a lot of reading. WPE's biweekly closed-circuit television newscast includes a segment devoted to reading books called "The Happy Booker." Sometimes the principal himself has been the "Happy Booker," who comes with his Literary Guild book bag loaded with his own books. The children are thrilled when their principal reviews books that he has read. It provides a model for the students' personal reading.

Roger Haynes has a strong media background, particularly in film and photography. This, as you will note later in this study, has had a tremendous impact on the instruction at WPE.

Haynes could be described as an outcome-oriented individual. He is a firm believer in setting specific goals and objectives for both staff and students. In his opening bulletin of 2 September 1975, specific goals he spelled out for the school year were: discipline, instruction, and management. Each year goals are discussed at the first staff meeting. The entire school works hard to reach these goals.

Washington Park Elementary School

Philosophy/Beliefs/Goals

Roger Haynes feels a principal's utilization of time is a critical factor in running a school effectively. He feels, "It is the principal's use of time that separates the exceptional school from the nonexceptional school." Haynes believes that principals should avoid unnecessary paperwork. For example, he does not always respond to every request for information. He makes his decision as to what is most important based on what is best for kids.

He believes a principal should do all he or she can to relieve the staff of as much nonteaching work as possible (e.g., take the playground and cafeteria duty). Teachers interviewed agreed that the administrator "performs many tasks to free teachers to teach," and that they "are not bogged down with a lot of meetings and duties."

This principal feels that it is of paramount importance to instill in children the following habits:

1. Come to school every day.
2. Be on time.
3. Take homework home and do it.
4. Carry library books home and read them.
5. Have tools (notebook, paper, pencil) for school.
6. Use manners, be polite, show respect.

He believes that discipline is essential in running an urban elementary school. "Control/discipline is one of the most important elements that makes Washington Park Elementary what it is."

Roger Haynes thinks that his school is top rate, and he encourages faculty, students, and the community to feel the same. In many classrooms, teachers' bulletin boards reinforce this belief with signs reading "We're Number 1." This attitude prevails throughout the school. Haynes says, "Do a few things right and not a lot of things wrong. Repetition of right practices is good for the soul."

Attitude Toward School and Kids

Roger Haynes firmly believes that school should enhance learning and be an enjoyable experience for the children. An example of this belief is the many assembly programs that entertain the children as well as broaden their experience and learning. Over the years Washington Park students have continually expressed favorable attitudes toward school. The many extra "fun/learning" experiences provided through the principal's efforts contribute to these favorable attitudes.

Haynes' interaction with the students is by no means limited to the school day. On numerous occasions he has spent evenings (as well as Saturdays) taking groups of students to various activities. His sixth-grade girls can't wait to serve as hostesses for the Appalachian Festival each year. Many times these affairs extend far beyond the school day. For the past five or six years, he has spent Christmas Eve taking large groups of children to performances of the "Nutcracker Suite" at the nearby Music Hall. It was the consensus of interviewed parents that the principal spent time above and beyond the call of duty to help enrich the learning experiences of their children.

Staff Supervision and Support

Roger Haynes' supervisory style can best be described as informal but controlled. He says, "I do not like to breathe down the neck of my staff." Yet, his visibility is very apparent as he walks through the school halls daily and stops by classrooms for a few moments just to say hello. He spends very little time on direct observation or evaluation of teaching.

In *Does Anybody Give a Damn?* Nat Hentoff maintains, "What counts is not style but a principal's expectations of his teachers and of his student body. And that means, of course, his expectations of himself." Haynes' expectations for his entire staff (as well as himself) are quite high. The staff is very aware of this, appreciates it, and works accordingly. Interviewed teachers agreed that the principal "expects everyone to be doing his work, but you are not pressured." The principal is very aware of the capabilities of each member of his staff. He knows the kind of job he or she is doing. When the situation demands, conferences with a particular staff member are held to assess problems.

The principal maintains excellent rapport with his staff. There have been no requests for transfers and no grievances filed against him. Further, over the years, his teaching staff has continually given him the highest rating in the areas of discipline, cooperation, and overall morale in the school. In the teacher survey 96% agreed that the principal supported them in disciplinary matters; 86% said that he had shown empathy toward his teachers; and 94% agreed that he had accentuated the positive in relationships with his teachers.

Haynes has high regard for his staff and is complimentary of their work. Many times in staff meetings, he reminds them, "You're the reason the Big W.P. is so good." Teachers at the school report that he "constantly reminds the staff that they make Washington Park 'tick,' and that they are the best teachers."

Discipline

Over the last 10 years, the Gallup polls of attitudes toward education have found discipline to be one of the biggest problems facing educators. Recognizing this, efforts were made by this study team to determine this principal's performance in this area. Through interviews and observation it was found that the principal does not issue a list of specific rules for acceptable behavior, but rather establishes limits and makes sure the students are well aware of them. His consistency of discipline enforcement is of paramount importance. Each day discipline is reinforced.

A great deal of time and effort is spent teaching youngsters good manners. In fact, at many assemblies time is devoted to developing good manners and respect.

As mentioned previously, Haynes is extremely supportive of the staff concerning discipline problems. He is a fair but firm disciplinarian. In 1977-78, on a seven-point scale (1-poor to 7-excellent), the staff rated Haynes 6.44, while other elementary principals in Cincinnati received an average rating of 4.87. In 1978-79 Haynes was rated 6.41, while other principals averaged 4.75.

Roger Haynes believes in student suspensions, and WPE ranks near the highest (70th out of 77 schools) both in number and percent of suspension orders issued throughout the year. His philosophy is, "One child should not disrupt the educational process for the other 29 in class who *do* want to learn." Ten-day suspensions are the norm.

Accurate and complete discipline files are kept on students and are frequently referred to. For example, when a student is sent to the office, this file is checked to see if the individual does have a disciplinary action file. Also, teachers are expected to assist with discipline. At the very first staff meeting each year, Haynes stresses the importance of discipline in the school. Teachers are asked at that time to send children to the office as a last resort. The opening bulletins for 1974-75 and 1977-78 state, "Send pupils to office when all else has failed and when a crisis occurs—always with a note. Keep record of incidents." Each student who is sent to the office must bring a specific form that has been developed by the principal for this purpose. An in-depth interview with Haynes reveals that his staff gives him outstanding support in discipline matters.

Haynes believes in "nipping discipline problems in the bud." He is not heavy handed in establishing or maintaining discipline, although the traditional school paddle (slammer) is used if the situation warrants it.

Haynes has been observed "nipping problems in the bud" many times. Outside the school as morning and noon lines are formed, the principal faces the group and gives one of his unique pep talks. His "listen up" brings an immediate hush from the total group. Haynes reminds students of manners, daily activities, expectations, etc. His dialogue with the group is often humorously serious, a dialogue that the children have become familiar with and respond to. When he tells them that they did something "nerdy," such as messing up the cafeteria, they understand and make amends. A statement such as, "Your actions today will cost you five minutes of play time tomorrow—no, five-and-a-half, maybe six," is thoroughly understood even though it is made humorously. The children are well aware of the sincerity of their principal.

In his pep talks Haynes continually reinforces that WPE is Number 1 and that students' behavior should reflect that. News reporters and other community persons are continually impressed by "the conviction of Roger K. Haynes that WPE *is* the best."

Community Relations

Roger Haynes realizes that a school is an integral part of the community and that school-community relations are of utmost importance. He works at making those relations good. He involves the community and draws upon its resources. His efforts are reflected in the number of persons who either come into the school or pass by the school just to say hello (police officers, local merchants, etc.). Parents are willing to misrepresent their place of residence just to make sure their children attend WPE (out of 700 children, 30 to 50 would fall into this category).

Some parents have stated they would move to the suburbs, except that their children are getting a good education at WPE.

In building and maintaining good public relations, Haynes believes that the school's relationship with the community must be one of reciprocity. The school must give as well as receive. The giving includes such practices as filming parades for local community groups, making space and camera equipment available to a local university for student teaching, and making the school yard available after hours as a parking facility for the neighborhood church and music hall.

Children at WPE have been taught appreciation for their community and school surroundings. Although the symphony hall is no more than 50 feet away from the school, the grounds are never defaced by WPE students. The students realize the cultural exposure available to them by having this structure next door and they appreciate it.

Parents feel welcome to visit WPE and talk with the principal because of his sincerity and openness. More than 89% of the parents said they "feel welcome at WPE," and that "You can always go in and sit down and talk with him to get a good understanding of what is going on in the school." Community leaders, including Cincinnati's mayor, are impressed with his "friendliness and eagerness to share with visitors."

Haynes' expertise in public relations has brought a wealth of extra experiences to the students at WPE (these will be expanded on later in this case study). His aggressiveness in acquiring funds for school programs from private corporations and "friends" of WPE have reaped many benefits for the students. An example of his ability to acquire funds is his proposal for a closed-circuit television system for WPE, which was funded primarily through his efforts with parents and community corporations.

Hiring Practices

Hiring practices greatly influence the kinds of learning situations that prevail in a school. Roger Haynes gives considerable attention to hiring his staff. He seeks individuals who are not only knowledgeable but also creative, self-motivated, compassionate, and empathetic toward children. He tries to balance his staff culturally and to seek persons with varied interests.

When a position at WPE is available, he conducts a personal interview with prospective staff members, takes them on a tour of the building, has them observe classroom activities, and introduces them to other faculty members.

When vacancies occur, they are usually filled by student teachers who have worked in the building. Over the past six years, at least five student teachers have been hired as regular teachers at the school.

Much care is also taken in hiring instructional assistants. These individuals go through a lengthy interview process almost as thorough as that for teachers. Many assistants have served in the building for several years. Of the assistants who have departed, most have done so to further their education. Many of the assistants enroll in a college program while working at WPE.

Most teachers who have left WPE have done so primarily due to promotions, maternity leave, or through reductions in force ordered by the board of education. Two assistant principals who served with the principal (and were chosen by him) during the past six years have received promotions. One is currently a director of a program for the gifted, and the other is principal of another elementary school. Both men received excellent training from Haynes. During their terms as assistant principal, both enhanced the learning environment of the school and followed Hayne's philosophy.

Haynes is not opposed to firing if the situation warrants it. However, he prefers to counsel ineffective teachers out of their careers in education rather than terminate them. These practices in hiring and firing reflect the principal's commitment to the education of the students at WPE. He chooses his staff very carefully in order to get the best teachers to serve the needs of his students.

Leadership Qualities

Roger Haynes is by all measures a strong leader. His leadership as observed by the local study team has had a great impact on the improvement of math and reading scores at WPE.

Haynes' leadership in initiating and implementing new ideas and programs is evident in that during each of the last six years, one new project has been carried out in the school, including this Phi Delta Kappa study of exceptional urban elementary schools. Statements made in interviews with teachers, parents, community leaders, resource persons, and students provide a consensus that Haynes is the "key figure in the democratic leadership that governs the school," and that by using "good judgment, common sense, and the ability to recognize the important from the unimportant," he has displayed leadership qualities that have been crucial to improving math and reading achievement at WPE.

His leadership in implementing innovative programs for the school and his willingness to cooperate with Cincinnati Public Schools in the piloting of new programs and materials (with staff cooperation) indicates his commitment to making Washington Park Elementary School the "best."

To summarize, Roger Haynes is convinced that he can do almost anything he sets out to do—and he usually does.

2. The Quality of Washington Park Staff

Staff in this section of the case study refers to the total WPE family—principals, teachers, instructional assistants (aides), secretaries, clerks, custodial staff, cafeteria personnel, and supportive personnel (psychologist, visiting teachers, etc.).

Even though the school is characterized by children from families with low socioeconomic status, high pupil mobility, low motivational level, and low aptitude, teachers at WPE consider working there a challenge and strive daily to meet that challenge. Teachers at WPE are committed to educating "their" children. They have searched for and found ways to give them the best education possible. They are not afraid to try new ideas to enhance the children's learning.

Basic to the excellence of the teaching staff at WPE is its ability to provide for individual differences. Knowing that each child progresses at a different rate, the staff plans activities that are geared to individual students as well as the total group. Children are never kept with a certain group for the sake of convenience. It is not unusual for a child to be sent to another group as progress is made.

Supporting Staff—A Family Approach

There is a family approach to the learning environment at WPE. The school employs one secretary, two clerks (one funded by Title I), nine instructional assistants (aides), four custodial staff members, one cafeteria manager and several helpers, a visiting teacher, a psychologist, a school nurse, a dentist, and a speech therapist. These staff members are an integral part of the learning process in the school. They support the principal and teachers in all their efforts. Their understanding of the students is important to the total learning process. Teachers interviewed reported that the support personnel "have been a solid part of the educational team." On an opinionnaire taken by all members of the Washington Park staff, nearly 100% noted the cooperation of all the staff members as one of the primary reasons for the school running smoothly and for the students progressing.

Children are aware that there is staff cooperation and this enhances their learning experience. They know that the custodians are going to reprimand them if they do not cooperate. They realize that every adult in the building demands respect and gives them respect. The children know that every member of the WPE family feels responsible and is responsible for their learning as well as their behavior. The noninstructional staff's commitment to the students' education is the same as that of the principals and teachers.

The support staff is as quick to compliment the students as is the faculty. They realize the effect that this has in promoting a good self-image in the pupils. Teachers compliment the cafeteria staff for good meals and congeniality. Custodians are constantly complimented for the clean building. Staff members observed, "There is a commitment by all staff members to help children develop intellectually, creatively, socially, physically, and artistically."

A newspaper reporter who has made several visits to the school observed, "The staff seems remarkably happy and committed. This feeling is rare among the public schools. The staff actually believes that Washington Park School is the best school in Cincinnati."

Teacher Attitudes Toward Students and Self

Teachers at WPE do believe they can teach. On a survey taken by teachers who had been in the building for the past three years, 86% stated that they were satisfied with their teaching performance. Most of the WPE teachers have great confidence in their teaching abilities. They maintain a "can do" attitude for themselves as well as for their students.

Washington Park Elementary School

Ninety-four percent of the teachers surveyed said that they "accentuate the positive." Teachers really believe that their students can learn. They make every effort to make this belief a reality. Parents interviewed said, "Teachers tell the children they can do anything they set their minds to." Teachers agree: "Letting the children know that we feel that they can do well is important."

A citywide survey conducted by the Department of Research and Development in 1975-76 indicated that 72% of WPE students felt that their teachers "care about me"; 76% said that their teachers "help me with my problems." The teachers at WPE do care about their students. Many teachers take time after school to take children away from their immediate surroundings for further learning experiences. Some teachers have taken groups or individual students to the teachers' homes for private outings. Others have spent Saturdays with the children, taking them swimming, on picnics, etc. It is not unusual for the teacher to use personal funds for these outings.

Teachers are not afraid to show love and attention physically by hugging and touching children, particularly those in the lower grades. This attention lets a child know that the teacher "cares for me."

Teaching Philosophy: High Expectations

There is a basic philosophy observed by the study team that pervades the entire teaching staff as well as the administrators. Expectations for students are extremely high. When goals are set, they are expected to be reached. An opinionnaire given to the staff reflected that the teachers' expectations were great and that the students were usually able to meet them. Interviews with parents and teachers reflected the same ideals about high expectations.

Not only are high expectations set in the area of curriculum, but they are also set in every phase of school life. Children are expected to have good study habits in the classroom, to behave properly, to do homework, and to display good manners. Children know that not only are they expected to do their work and behave in a mannerly way, but that it will be demanded of them by every staff member at WPE. As one first-grade teacher stated during her interview, "We demand more from the children. We expect them to do well. We know they're going to do well. And they will do well!" She added, "All of us settle for nothing but the best from a child. We look at him, analyze his abilities. We teach to his strengths and try to eliminate weaknesses."

Ninety-eight percent of the teachers surveyed by this study team said they believed in the Law of Insistence: You get what you insist upon. Only 44% said that they were "satisfied with my students' performance." Teachers at this school always want more from their students.

School pride is another attribute that pervades the school. The total staff manifests this pride, and students convey a "We're Number 1" attitude that the study team feels has an influence on the rise in student achievement.

Teachers said that adequacy of reading and math materials play an important role in their instruction. They considered the addition of the closed-circuit television a definite plus for instruction in reading. Teachers also felt that an attractive room (and school) enhance the learning environment. They agree that it is "important to maintain an attractive learning environment." Students in the first and third grades said, "The decorations on the walls are nice," and "I like the pretty rooms."

Teachers agree that reading to children frequently and encouraging parents to read to them creates a greater interest in reading. Children are read to (particularly in the primary grades) often. Most teachers have a reading nook or corner with many supplementary books available for the children to read.

In keeping with the board of education's policy on homework, teachers are assigning homework as in the past. Washington Park students know that "when you go home, learning doesn't stop."

All these elements of the instructional program have had a great impact on the increase in student achievement at Washington Park Elementary School.

Teacher-Parent Relations

The importance of good teacher-parent relations to a child's progress in school is self-evident. WPE teachers strive to maintain parent-teacher relationships that will bring out the best in students. They realize that parents are an integral part of the educational process and strive to maintain their involvement.

Parents are made to feel welcome and are encouraged to visit the school. The principal sets the tone for welcoming parents and the teachers follow his lead. Surveys conducted by the Cincinnati Public Schools' Research and Development Department in 1974-75 indicated that 93% of WPE's parents felt welcome and that 86% felt that the school had done a good job in teaching reading and math.

Teachers confer with parents to discuss their children's progress and to offer suggestions to parents for helping their children at home. Overwhelmingly, the parents describe the teachers as hard workers, interested, receptive, and able to make the parent feel like a friend.

3. Expectations: The Discipline Process

"Our biggest problem is *not* discipline...," reported Roger Haynes, principal of Washington Park Elementary. This is an unusual statement to be made by a principal of any urban school. The reason that discipline is not the biggest problem is that, with Haynes as principal, the problem was defined at an early stage and policies and procedures were established by the staff to combat the problem before it became the "biggest."

The board of education resolved on 14 January 1974, "To develop guidelines within which the classroom teacher may operate with assurance of support and provide some method of accountability wherein it can be ascertained that increased discipline has or has not resulted from its implementation...."

To carry out this resolution, WPE organized a Discipline-Attendance

Committee in September 1975. The new committee was chaired by the assistant principal. The members included parents, paraprofessionals, teachers, students, and community leaders. The committee was charged with the responsibility of identifying ways of improving discipline and attendance. To accomplish their goals, they took three basic steps:

1. Increased utilization of the visiting teacher/school social worker to assist in the identification of students who had irregular attendance and/or exhibited hostile, aggressive behavior and/or demonstrated social/emotional immaturity and/or whose behavior showed the impact of poverty.
2. Monthly business assemblies to identify those students who had regular attendance and therefore warranted recognition.
3. Parent inservice to provide support services and to recommend appropriate resources to help the parent(s) assist their children to adjust to the demands of their environment

These steps had to be implemented within WPE's existing budget; no extra allocation would be made from district headquarters.

One will not find a list of rules and regulations at WPE. At the beginning of the school day, the recitation of the "expectations" can be heard loud and clear by the primary students, teachers, parents, and assistant principal on the west playground; and by intermediate students, teachers, parents, and principal on the east playground:

Administrator: "What's the first thing we expect at the Big W.P.?"
Students: "Come to school every day and every day on time."
Administrator: "What is our second expectation?"
Students: "Bring my tools and my manners."
Administrator: "Number three?"
Students: "Do the very best work I can."

The expectations have become embedded in each student's mind through daily repetition during the morning exercises, in the classroom, and in the business assemblies.

"Coming to school every day and every day on time" is the number one expectation because if the student is to achieve his/her maximum potential, he/she must attend school. The WPE staff is confident they can teach the student who is in the classroom every day.

"Bring my tools..." is the second expectation. Every primary student is required to carry work in a large manila envelope. The intermediate student is expected to carry a loose-leaf notebook. These tools are checked every morning and every afternoon as the student enters or leaves the building. The student takes pride in carrying the learning tools. Peer pressure usually does not allow a student to forget his/her tools, but if one should forget them one day, he/she is sent to the end of the line. If it occurs a second time, the parent is contacted. There usually is not a third time.

"...and my manners." Manners and respect are a collaborative effort of home and school. They are enforced and reinforced at every opportunity by all of the school's personnel from custodian to principal.

A local TV personality was "most impressed by the courtesy and manners of the students."

"Do the best work I can" is the third expectation. Each grade level is homogeneously grouped according to ability. This affords the student the chance to compete with his/her peers at or about the same level. The curriculum is geared to the student's ability, culture, and interests. This gives the student the opportunity to succeed, gain confidence, build on strengths, and work up to potential. If a student is not producing or is exhibiting unusual or bizzare behavior, a referral is made by the classroom teacher to the school psychologist. A battery of tests is administered. If the results indicate the need for a special education class, the student is placed within a two-week period.

Roger Haynes does not believe in retaining a student for any reason except social immaturity. This might occur in the primary grades. WPE has had less than 2% retention since 1974. The principal feels that this policy prevents over-aged students with low self-esteem from becoming discipline problems.

In the parent survey 97% responded that they felt their child's teacher(s) inspired him/her to have confidence in himself/herself. This pride and self-esteem is achieved through accentuating the positive, accepting each student where he/she is, enriching the curriculum, using closed-circuit instructional television, and training teachers to foresee student needs.

The bottom line of these expectations is genuine interest and respect among all concerned with WPE. A police officer, who enjoys a good rapport with the school, wrote, "The greatest factor that I have noticed during my visits to the school is the three-way respect among the faculty, administration, and student body. I observed not just the respect for teachers, parents, police, etc., but also for each other."

The principal and assistant principal are *visible* on the playgrounds, in the halls, in the classrooms, and in the cafeteria throughout the school day. Teachers are not required to supervise the playgrounds or the lunchroom. Their only duty is to meet their respective line to bring the students into the building. At dismissal time, the teacher must bring the students to their respective exit doors and there they are met by the principal (primary) or the assistant principal (intermediate), who supervise the leaving of the school grounds. Haynes instituted this practice because it provides an opportunity for the administrators to interact with the students, learn names and faces, and observe behavior. This visibility is another preventive discipline measure utilized at WPE.

"One set of eyes and one set of ears," Haynes says from the stage of the auditorium. This is how the monthly business assembly commences. This assembly is a viable element in WPE's discipline process. Three general areas are on each agenda: 1) the good things that have occurred during the past month; 2) the problems that need extra work; 3) upcoming events that need attention. The accepted code of conduct at these assemblies is very structured. The student must sit straight in the metal chair, hands in lap, feet on the floor. Students in grades K through 6, including the visually-impaired, attend the hour-long assembly. The purpose of the regimentation is to emphasize the accepted mode of behavior when we are invited to concerts, the children's theater, the circus, etc. "We are selling ourselves and Washington Park everywhere we go."

At WPE a norm of accepted behavior is expressed verbally and with body language at each and every opportunity. When a student deviates from this norm and requires a reminder of accepted behavior, the classroom teacher is responsible for dealing with the behavior within the guidelines of acceptable punishment from the board of education and Ohio state law.

If this first step in the discipline process is not enough and the student must be removed from the immediate learning environment (Haynes doesn't believe that "one apple should spoil the whole bushel"), the student is sent to an administrator with a completed discipline form. This discipline form addresses three areas: 1) description of behavior; 2) action taken by the teacher; 3) action recommended by the teacher to be carried out by an administrator. The student is given an opportunity to tell his side. His/her comments are also written on the form. This form is kept on file for a three-year period. This gives the parent and personnel an opportunity to follow the pattern of a particular student's behavior. Corporal punishment and/or suspension (each within the guidelines of the board of education) are not shied away from by the administration.

The substance of the educational philosophy at WPE is twofold: 1) learning begins with discipline; and 2) you get what you insist upon. The discipline policy has as its goal to assist the students in assuming responsibility for their behavior. The students should ultimately take ownership of their actions and achieve self-direction. The WPE administrators, teachers, staff, parents, psychologist, visiting teacher, nurse, and social service agencies search for the *cause* of student misbehavior, they do not just treat the *symptom* of the dysfunction.

4. The Closed-Circuit Instructional Television System (CTV)

In the spring of 1975, Roger Haynes distributed the annual equipment request forms to the teaching staff. The majority of the forms were returned with *television* as the first choice. The teachers felt this valuable educational tool could be beneficial to the learning mode of their students. Haynes, having researched the area of media, knew that television in the classroom could be an effective instrument of teaching and learning if carefully integrated into the instructional process and if both principal and staff were willing to innovate.

A WPE committee consisting of teachers, paraprofessionals, parents, community leaders, and administrators developed a proposal for a closed-circuit instructional television system (CTV). The project was specifically designed to improve:

1. Communication Skills—The skills necessary for students to carry on meaningful dialogue with others. These skills include visual literacy, speaking, writing, reading, and listening.

2. Life-Coping Skills—The tools a student will require to function in a complex technological society. These skills include basic computational,

conceptual, and applicative mathematical processes.

3. Self-Motivation—The internal drive that develops as a result of successful experiences. Self-motivation will be a natural consequence of improving communication and life-coping skills.

In order to accomplish the goals, programming from Cincinnati's educational television station WCET-TV, channel 48, was utilized with priority given to communication skills and mathematics. WCET's staff of experienced educators were available to work with WPE staff to familiarize them with the potential and scope of the programming. Since the Cincinnati Board of Education allocates $20,000 a year to the Greater Cincinnati Television Education Council for broadcast services, WPE was able to use available resources as it prepared to implement CTV.

The CTV curriculum was designed around the cultural, economic, and environmental heritage of the students. Original programming included the strengths of their culture and the established organizations in the Over the Rhine area. The community would become a virtual learning laboratory with "friends" from the community (police, fire, and sanitation workers; business leaders; and social service agencies) serving as resource staff for WPE students.

Since WPE doesn't receive any more funds than other Cincinnati schools, it was up to the school, community, and "friends" to raise the money for the CTV. Over a two-year period, several money-making projects were undertaken. Through the Music Hall Association, Cincinnati business leaders contributed over $1,000 for the purchase of classroom television sets. A student candy sale netted the fund $1,400. WPE's PTA sponsored a local music festival and a dance that contributed $600 to the pot. With the community and school support, a total of $18,000 was raised to purchase television sets for every classroom and for wiring and antenna systems. Money was saved from the regular equipment allocations from district headquarters to buy a color television camera.

When the neighborhood business community contributed additional funds, the stage was set to install the closed-circuit instructional television system. During the 1976 Christmas holidays, workers installed a system capable of producing live shows from any room in the building and outside on the playground. With a color videocassette recorder in the resource center and a 19-inch color set in each classroom, the entire school could now watch an educational program simultaneously. An elaborate security system was also installed.

On 1 April 1977 the Early Bird News (EBN) made its debut from the media storage room, which doubled as WPE's studio. The studio was furnished with a three-position news team desk (three study carrels pushed together) and a backdrop made of dyed bed sheets and an old drapery secured to the hot water pipes with clothesline. The lighting system was provided by a floodlight kit from the Salvation Army. The teacher/librarian served in the dual role of director and cameraperson. An instructional assistant from the reading program became the sound engineer. Written, produced, and presented entirely by students, the EBN is produced biweekly.

Through the Urban Appalachian Council Videotape Project, several local residents were trained to prepare and tape programs. WPE-TV, Channel 6, became a video center with its facilities, personnel, and capabilities available to the community. WPE-TV broadcasts programs produced by individual classes, presentations by guest speakers, and special events. Teachers use it for inservice training. Community members broadcast programs concerning the abused child, battered women, and epilepsy. Educational programming produced by local public and commercial television stations are also broadcast. Relevant programs are videotaped and replayed as they pertain to curriculum.

Each time WPE-TV broadcasts a program for visitors, it receives both community and monetary support. As one phase of the system became established, additional contributions from individuals and the federal government made another phase of Haynes' dream a reality.

In an effort to determine if the CTV was working up to its potential, Haynes asked the Department of Research and Development to design an evaluative instrument. The findings included positive effects on student achievement, attitude, behavior, and attendance. "Our kids never got the chance to become a star," observed a former assistant principal. "But with the CTV, Washington Park is a place where they can perform and be a star."

On a rotating schedule, each class from kindergarten through grade 6, including the visually handicapped students, are responsible for four EBN 15-minute broadcasts a year. The students write, organize, choose the cast, rehearse, tape, and evaluate their performance. The broadcast is developed around a format designed by the teacher/librarian.

Rehearsals are held in the classroom. When the news team enters the studio, there is a technical run-through and then taping. The technical aspect requires that the format be followed explicitly. In every respect, preparing an EBN broadcast is a total language arts experience.

Many personalities are invited to participate in the EBN. They serve as positive role-models, so important to children in an inner-city school. On one visit to the WPE-TV studio, a local television producer was "most impressed by the ability of the students to express themselves in front of the cameras and by their creative ability."

Parents are frequent visitors to see their children on the EBN. One parent was heard to whisper, "When I see my daughter on the screen, I'm so proud I could pop my buttons." One first-grade teacher stated, "The closed-circuit TV has developed a sense of unity and school identity. It enhances classroom activities and reinforces the language arts curriculum."

The EBN has had a direct effect on improving students' self-images, on nurturing positive attitudes about school, and on improving students' desire to read. (In 1978, 80% of WPE's students liked to read extra books compared to 64% of the students citywide.) The statistics say Washington Park is winning the battle of motivation.

5. Emphasis on Reading and Mathematics

In 1975 the Cincinnati Board of Education looked at the declining reading and mathematics achievement test scores of children in the Cincinnati public schools and decided that positive action must be taken to reverse this trend. The board adopted a five-year plan to improve the achievement of students in the fundamental subjects through:

1. Reduction of pupil/teacher ratios in grades K through 4
2. Increased use of paraprofessionals
3. Utilization of modern teaching aids
4. Implementation of a criterion-referenced testing program

The board of education gave the reading program top priority at its February 1975 meeting when it stated, "This program is designed to improve the reading diagnostic program, reading readiness experiences, and reading in the content areas that meets the child's needs. It is a major commitment to upgrading reading in the Cincinnati public schools through a variety of programs and approaches.... To provide for the success of this reading program, the program budget provides for a reading resource teacher in every elementary school, one professional for every four teachers, staff development, and basal individualized reading materials for every teacher and child."

The board's goal of improving achievement in reading and math immediately became WPE's top priority as well. Teachers in each elementary school were asked to study six basic reading programs and to choose the one they liked best for reading instruction in their school.

Although multiple textbook adoptions in a large system with high mobility rates can present problems, it was felt that having a choice of reading programs would result in greater teacher commitment and satisfaction. All six programs featured multi-ethnic content and were appealing to children. Heavy emphasis was placed on skill development and continuous diagnostic testing.

In addition to a new reading program, each school was given a reading resource teacher and a number of paraprofessionals based on the board's guidelines. At about the same time, a group of teachers and consultants were considering new math programs. After two years of study, Addison-Wesley's *Mathematics in Our World* was adopted in 1978 as the citywide mathematics program for grade 1 through grade 6.

Teachers on the committee expressed a need for a math program that provided heavy emphasis on computational skills with a lot of repetition to reinforce learning. This series promised to answer that need when it was introduced to the schools in September 1978. Washington Park math teachers who were interviewed for this study agreed that this series provides for emphasis on computational skills. Teachers feel sure that it will have a great effect on future instruction.

Much earlier (1971), special project staff members and instructional consultants developed the Cincinnati Instructional Management System (CIMS). A computer was engaged to assist the teacher in grading tests, keeping student records, making recommendations for future instructional objectives and testing materials, and reporting student progress to parents.

After being piloted in a few schools (WPE included), the system became an integral part of every school's instructional program. At

WPE, every 20 teaching days students in grades 1 through 6 are tested on a given level of reading and/or math content. Students move to the next level only when they have shown mastery of the preceding level.

The system is particularly valuable in that it helps teachers to diagnose pupil weaknesses and to plan for remediation. Since the teachers have a thorough understanding of the developmental sequence of reading, they have been able to incorporate successfully the CIMS program into their regular reading program.

WPE reading aides have been invaluable in implementing the CIMS program. They are acquainted with the computer system, feed information concerning the children into the computer, organize tests for teachers, and keep the reading program running smoothly. Not only have the reading aides enhanced the CIMS program, but they are also involved in all classroom activities pertaining to reading. Help is given to the children individually and in small groups to reinforce reading skills and objectives.

The reading aides follow a specific schedule as they work with the same teachers each day. Thus they can provide continuity in working with individual students. A reading aide orientation was held for teachers and aides upon their arrival at WPE. The orientation provided specific training for the aides as well as an opportunity for the teachers to set goals for their reading program. General guidelines for the aides were suggested by the principal. This orientation proved to be of great value in getting the program off to a smooth start and in insuring effective use of the reading aides.

In 1977 the board of education extended its efforts to improve basic skills learning with a homework policy. The policy was very specific. It stated, "Homework shall be assigned by all teachers to students on a regular basis, using procedures that each local school will develop." Each teacher in the system received an extensive outline explaining the definition of homework, its purpose and nature, suggested time elements for various grade levels, evaluation procedures, and recommendations for implementation. Parents were asked to become partners in this endeavor in order to encourage and monitor homework activities.

WPE had begun to put emphasis on homework prior to this mandate. However, the formalization of the policy by the board has had a great impact on the learning process. The children at WPE are expected to take their homework assignments home, complete them, and return them promptly. Parents know that their children are expected to do homework and are most cooperative in this area. Most of our parents are happy that homework is expected.

Parents interviewed supported the homework policy by stating, "Homework is important because the child can see what he can do on his own." Parents overwhelmingly felt that homework should be assigned and that their children should be held accountable for it. All parents surveyed agreed that homework was an expected part of the curriculum. Ninety percent of the teachers surveyed were also in agreement.

In 1977 a citizens' task force saw a need for minimum competency testing and the board of education responded by mandating the development of such a program. Its purpose is to insure student mastery of the basic skills necessary for one to become "a responsible, contributing member of society." The program calls for all children to be tested on critical academic skills in grades 3, 6, 9, and 11. They must be provided an alternative program for remediation when they have not mastered the content at any particular level. These Critical Skills Tests were implemented on a pilot basis during the 1978-79 school year.

Children in Cincinnati are now taking many tests as a part of their regular instructional program. However, some children do not take tests well because they become unduly apprehensive or because they become distracted by the test. For this reason, a program was devised for Title I teachers and any other teachers who expressed interest to help pupils learn test-taking skills so that they can present a truer picture of what they really know.

Prior to this program, the principal at Washington Park had encouraged his teachers to develop test-taking skills in their students. Many teachers devised special tests of their own to prepare children to cope with various kinds of test-taking situations. For most of the children at WPE, testing is no longer an ordeal. They are accustomed to many different kinds of tests.

In general, the staff at WPE is comprised of experienced teachers, most of whom have long subscribed to the importance of basic skills in reading and math. Since many have served on systemwide committees to develop math and reading curricula and to adopt textbooks, they tend to be unusually committed to the programs they have helped to develop. A third-grade teacher who recently served on the math textbook committee stated, "Practically all the staff worked on committees that have helped to formulate the curriculum and on textbook selection committees. This has given us more of a say in what was placed in these areas."

In selecting a reading program most appropriate for WPE students, the teachers voted to use the Macmillan Series R. Three of their colleagues had successfully used the program on a pilot basis. The teachers were attracted by its strong skill development, its appealing content and pictures, and its accompanying components. They felt that if children liked their books, they would learn to read more successfully. Teachers have also expressed satisfaction with the new math textbook adoption. They are pleased with the heavy emphasis being placed on computational skills.

Parents of WPE children realize now more than ever the importance of learning. Many parents are going to school themselves. Others, who have had difficulty in finding employment, are determined that their children are "going to get a better education so they can find work." These parents become partners in the educational process, encouraging, assisting (many volunteer to help in the classrooms), and often "pushing" their children to do better. Many parents initiate conferences with their child's teacher to find out how they can be of more help.

The grading system at WPE has returned to the old, familiar A,B,C form. Parents say they are able to interpret report cards more easily. If a child's progress is unsatisfactory, the parents receive (in addition to the report card) a letter specifying the area of deficiency and an invitation for them to come in for a conference to discuss the problem.

Regularly scheduled parent conferences are held at the school twice a year. These conferences serve to keep the parent informed about the child's progress as well as to reinforce school goals and objectives. In a teacher directive from the principal in November 1977, he specifically states, "In your (parent) conferences, stress work habits, conduct, and having proper tools, etc."

Now parents are providing a good beginning for their children by making sure that they attend preschool and kindergarten. Both programs stress development of language and concepts, physical and social skills, and good attitudes and habits for learning. Kindergarten has a much more structured preparation for reading instruction than it once had, so most children enter the first grade with some early reading skills and real motivation for learning to read.

For those children who seem to be less prepared for school (on a screening test), there is the excellent all-day kindergarten program, which provides a full day for more intensive instruction. In both preschool and kindergarten, a special effort is made to encourage parents to assist in the classroom and extend experiences at home. These children, too, participate in school business assemblies and receive recognition for work well done.

Since the inception of ESEA in the 1960s, WPE has had some form of Title I program. In recent years this program has been implemented by a staff of reading specialists who reinforce and enrich the regular reading program. Individual and small group instruction is given to students who test below the thirty-fourth percentile on standardized tests. Those children remain in the program through the fourth grade or until they reach grade level as determined by the Metropolitan Achievement Test.

Additional materials and full-time teacher aides help to implement the program. The ESEA teaching staff has remained quite stable over the years. Title I at WPE has played an important role in improving reading achievement. Teachers interviewed state that the Title I program has helped a lot by providing specialized teachers to work closely with the classroom teachers in eliminating weaknesses that a child may have.

In the fifth and sixth grades, teachers and students are enthusiastic about Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI) in math. Children work with their regular math textbooks, but in addition they spend some time (usually 10-minute periods) with the CAI math program. The computer assesses each child's skills, offers a program to meet specific needs, and provides practice to improve skills. Computer Assisted Instruction began at WPE in 1975. It represents another example of this staff's willingness to experiment with innovative programs to benefit the students.

The most unusual component of WPE's reading program is the closed-circuit television system. It has provided very special reasons for wanting to learn to read. Children from every grade level, including visually impaired students, have participated in the broadcasts. They must be able to read at some level in order to take an active part. They work eagerly to become good enough to do the job. There is great excitement when they see themselves and their friends on the Early Bird News and they are delighted by praise afterward for a job well done.

WPE conducts the only Braille classes in the Cincinnati public schools. Students attend from all over the city and from as far away as Indiana. These classes have been in the school since it was built. Mainstreaming has been an integral goal of this program.

Washington Park Elementary School is experiencing success. Test scores indicate that. The principal has been the catalyst for this success. A solid commitment by him and his staff to educate the children at WPE has been the foremost reason for the increase in reading and math scores. They have been willing to be innovative. They have tried new ideas in reading and math. They have not been afraid to venture into some new area if they felt it would be helpful to the students. And most importantly, they have expected their students to achieve—so they do.

6. Washington Park "Sold" Washington Park

A successful salesperson believes in his/her product. Washington Park believes in Washington Park. It sells itself as part of the community. It sells itself both internally and externally, and this has led to a fascinating and exciting learning adventure.

The immediate neighborhood surrounding WPE has the highest crime statistics in the metropolitan area. WPE students come from one of the highest poverty areas and have one of the highest mobility rates in the city. Why then is WPE succeeding?

An answer may be found in three clichés that sum up WPE's "Can Do" philosophy: 1) If you have a good product, people will buy it; 2) If you have something good, tell about it; 3) If you say something loud enough and long enough, people will believe it.

Principal Roger Haynes lives this philosophy. He is a natural salesperson. He is a dynamic, colorful communicator. He impresses upon the students, "You have to have something to sell." He translates this to mean, "You have to have statistics to back you up. You have to have acceptable behavior, positive attitudes, and decent test scores." This has been the essence of the principal's annual State of the School message delivered at the first business assembly since September 1973. He continues his pitch by reiterating, "I can't sell junk—not junkie kids—not junkie teachers—and not a junkie school." He continues, "We are here this year to get rid of the junk and produce merchandise that I can sell."

Haynes, armed with a videotape of the past year in review and copies of the past year's achievement scores, takes to the streets to solicit community and monetary resources for WPE. He is not afraid to ask district headquarters and/or community business leaders for support to upgrade existing programs or to purchase new equipment and materials for his students' varied modes of learning.

All associated with WPE form a mutual admiration society. Haynes was quoted in a local newspaper in 1974 as saying, "Anyone can be a principal. It is the teaching staff that has turned WPE into a fascinating and exciting learning process." One teacher with 17 years experience at WPE boasted, "The essence of our success is that Mr. Haynes impressed upon the teachers and the students not to make excuses for those things we have no control over, such as physical location and other negative environmental and cultural factors. He encourages all to see the needs and the potential—work toward that potential—become potential-oriented."

Another teacher with 19 years at WPE stated, "The children at WPE are given a lot of care and attention. Because of the neighborhood, their experiences at school must be as rich as possible. We, as a team, expect so much effort from our children. It surprises them as to how much they can learn, and they enjoy it. A lot of love has been put into this school from the staff, and the children give it back by their actions and their achievements."

Haynes views people visiting WPE as a source of learning through role modeling and the dispersing of knowledge. The students have a wide variety of experiences, from country music to opera. They are made aware of different cultures and learn to appreciate and respect them.

District personnel involve the WPE staff in pilot programs, field studies for new materials, textbook adoption committees, and supplementary book committees. This gives the staff the opportunity to be on top of many of the new and innovative trends in education.

"The community looks to Washington Park for many of its needs. It seems to be all things to all people. It has been just about the only productive force in this otherwise counterproductive neighborhood," observed an area housing management director.

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Dann C. Byck Elementary School Louisville, Kentucky

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In the last five years the Dann C. Byck Elementary School in Louisville, Kentucky, has wrestled with change—sweeping, dramatic change that has affected the educational philosophy and the operation of this institution. Byck has coped with the merger of disparate school systems that did not want to merge, with the imposition of broad-scale busing of students for purposes of desegregation, with changes in its own district that brought students from widely varying backgrounds, with the demands of an accreditation self-study, with the impact of a teacher strike, with the disruptions of the worst Louisville winter weather in the last century, with broad community dissatisfaction over the condition of the school system, and with major systemwide administrative changes.

Despite all this—and partly in response to the special challenges of the last five years—Byck has made progress. It has created new structures within the school to meet the problems. It has strengthened the training of its teaching staff and kept that staff oriented toward a child-centered education. It has found ways to bring parents into the educational process. It now is calling upon students to a greater degree to take responsibility for meeting their own educational goals.

Several principles have guided this development. The first and most important is democracy. Byck is a democratic institution in which there are few authority figures. Administrators, as well as teachers, parents, and students, facilitate education. Most decisions are group-made. The faculty steering committee, the parent advisory committee, the principal's cabinets, and the cluster liaison committee are structures within which democratic decisions are made. Faculty selection of a person to fill the new post of instructional coordinator is an example of this kind of decision making.

Flexibility is the second principle. Byck has not been afraid to discard old approaches in order to find something that works better. Changes in instructional organization over the past five years, designed to meet changing student needs, are one example.

Anticipation is another key concept. From the first efforts in 1974 to deal with the concerns of parents whose children were bused to the adoption of a preregistration system in the most recent school year, Byck has attempted to plan well by anticipating problems before they occur. Each effort at enrichment of the school program is thoroughly plotted, rather than adopted and implemented willy-nilly. It would have been easy simply to bring an artist-in-residence into the school and let him exhibit his skills. It was more difficult, but more useful, to integrate his work into the school curriculum. That could not have been done without cooperative planning.

Enrichment is the fourth important concept. It applies to more than the broadening of students' experience with special programs and activities. For example, the Byck teaching staff has made special efforts to keep itself in touch with innovations in education and to sharpen existing skills. What Byck wants to offer is a well-planned, flexible, enriched program of child-centered education, a program that is not imposed from above but developed cooperatively by administrators, teachers, parents, and students who take responsibility for the success of the educational effort.

In order to create such a program, it was necessary to build up a system of control. Over the past five years, as the school has moved through its goal-setting phase (1974-75), its crisis phase (1975-77), and its creative phase (1977-79), the principal has attempted to create a team that functions more or less independently, without day-to-day guidance from the principal. It is a team to which he can turn as problems arise; its capacity for independent operation frees him from crisis management, thus enabling him to devote himself to both the operational and instructional aspect of the school's activities.

How much success has Byck achieved in the past five years? Test scores suggest that much has been accomplished. But, beyond what is readily quantifiable, Byck offers even the casual visitor some hints. The halls of Byck tell the perceptive outsider that something good is happening there.

Profile of Byck Elementary School

The 1974-75 school year at Byck Elementary School was the end of a cycle. It was the culmination of efforts to bring outside resources to bear on the school's programs. The principal was happy with the instructional results to that point. Byck was publicized in the media as an example of the aggressive use of federal funds to improve the instructional program. There was reason to hope that, building on this kind of success, even more could be accomplished, but soon problems became apparent. Only in retrospect did it become clear that Byck, in its period of intensive federal involvement, had become a divided school.

Federal programs such as Head Start and Follow Through dominated the preschool through third grade and were the best alternatives available at the time. They produced positive results. Federal guidelines mandated inservice training programs for teachers and training programs for parents. Federal money provided the best in materials, equipment, and resource personnel.

In fourth through sixth grades, Title I money was used to finance the Diagnostic Prescriptive Instruction (DPI) Program in language arts and the Individualized Math Program (IMP).

Each of these program elements—Head Start, Follow Through, DPI, and IMP—had its own parent advisory committee, which brought an extraordinary degree of parent involvement to the Byck school. There were only three classrooms in the school that were beyond the influence of federal funds. These were self-contained, traditional classrooms made up of high academic achievers.

Most important, this federal programming forced a kind of coherence—a unity of purpose and design—on the educational program from preschool through third grade. Then DPI and IMP provided a transition from those early years to the more conventional approaches of Byck's fourth- through sixth-grade classrooms. (These two programs also lowered the student-teacher ratios by taking remedial students away from the regularly scheduled work of each day.)

There were special advantages inherent in the structured approach in use at Byck during this period. The school's population was, basically, low-income black. A lack of structure in the community and in many of the families from which these students came created a need for structure in the school program. There were students at that time who came to school not knowing where they would spend the night. Byck offered these children an oasis of order and security. Some Byck youngsters were burdened with family responsibilities that middle-class parents would be fearful of giving their children; for example, a nine-year-old might be given the responsibility of making sure a six-year-old sibling reached school and reached home again safely. For these youngsters, Byck offered respite from adult-level responsibilities. But for all the advantages of the tightly organized, neatly structured environment of the federal program years, there also were disadvantages.

A competitive spirit emerged among parents, teachers, and support staff involved in various programs. Loyalties developed to individual programs rather than to the total school program. There also was an element of elitism in some programs, especially those with the most resources and with the greatest visibility. As a result, the role of the schoolwide Parent Teacher Association was diminished.

For the most part, Byck was reacting to federal initiatives and was operating within federal strictures. It was a "trickle-down" kind of educational programming in which most of the input came from outside and above. The opportunities for "bubble-up" programming with ideas from parents, teachers, and students were limited by the demands of federal involvement.

In 1974-75 Byck was one of four schools in the Louisville City System participating in Follow Through. A parent advisory committee composed of parents, teachers, the principals of the four schools, the Follow Through director, and a representative of the University of Kansas developed a policy for implementation. The University of Kansas had designed the program nationally and helped with its implementation locally.

The Follow Through structure was imposed from outside and above. For example, the university decided that the Sullivan Programmed Reading materials would be the best choice for use in the classrooms at the four schools. With these materials, each student's progress could be monitored weekly by a university computer to provide instructional accountability.

There were some democratic aspects to the program, of course. For each classroom, a team composed of the lead teacher and two paraprofessionals made day-to-day decisions, within general policy guidelines. They used the computer output to make their assessments of students' progress, to adjust individual students' goals, and to reorganize the class as special problems arose.

Follow Through fit well into Byck's general orientation. It was consistent with the goals of child-centered education based on the behavior modification model.

The lead teachers were given intensive inservice training in behavior analysis, use of paraprofessionals, and the Sullivan Programmed Reading materials. The inservice training of the aides was a major democratic component. It was designed to involve parents in the educational process, so that this would carry over into the home. They were trained in positive reinforcement of behavior in either math or spelling/handwriting. Videotape was used in monitoring and improving instruction.

Three adults in each classroom provided instruction using a token economy system based on behavior modification theory. Youngsters earned tokens for successful performance and appropriate behavior. At the end of each work period, they were given 10 minutes to spend earned tokens. They bought activities, and the price of each was changed to

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reflect its popularity at any particular time. A 10-minute period of rope jumping, for example, might cost 10 tokens one day and five tokens the next day. Adjusting the prices to reflect changing popularity of various activities and varying achievement of each pupil required close attention to student attitudes and performance.

Teachers concerned themselves not only with students' academic needs but also with their emotional, social, and physical development, and they were encouraged to view the instructional process as a broadening of each child's awareness of the world. By the fifth year of Follow Through at Byck, there was evidence of improved learning and improved attitude among students generally. Rising achievement test scores were an encouraging development, as were a decrease in absenteeism and a drop in vandalism.

There were teacher morale problems associated with Follow Through. Most had to do with the computer's inability to adjust its instructional goals for each child in terms of special problems that inevitably arose. For example, a child enduring a family crisis could not be expected to perform as well in that week as he had in a normal week. The computer didn't take such factors into account. Yet teachers were held accountable for the progress of their students by monitoring their students' achievement of computer-set goals.

Stronger, more experienced teachers did not permit the pressure of this kind of accountability to force them to ignore each child's special problem, but the program tended to force weaker teachers to apply more pressure to students who were encountering problems in order to meet the computer's goals.

Morale among teachers in the intermediate grades was affected in a different way. The federal programs for those grades involved less funding. As a result, there were fewer resources, in terms of both equipment and personnel, and much less public attention and commendation was focused on their efforts. Byck's principal was generally satisfied with the progress being made both in the primary and intermediate grades, but he was not satisfied with the leadership and initiative being exhibited on the operations side. His goal was to develop an operations staff that would facilitate learning by eliminating operational problems. His feeling was that any time taken away from instructional planning to solve cafeteria, office, and plant problems was time needlessly lost. He had not achieved his goal by the end of the 1974-75 school year.

A Year of Turmoil: 1975—1976

Six weeks before school was supposed to open, the slow-burning legal fuse finally set off the bombshell. A federal judge ordered broad-scale busing to desegregate the newly merged Louisville and Jefferson County school systems.

Generally, the first few weeks of the school year were calm throughout the metropolitan area. Throughout most of the system, local police and the National Guard simply watched the peaceful opening of schools, but in a few areas protest did take the form of vandalism and violence. Antibusing demonstrators blocked some major streets, lit bonfires, broke windows in storefronts, and clashed with law officers.

Inside the schools, merger of two quite different school systems had its own disruptive effect. The Jefferson County system had grown dramatically in the years after World War II, developing into a large, financially secure operation. In the post-war years the older city system saw the flight of white, middle-class families to the suburbs. Louisville's student population approached a black majority and its financial support waned. In response, the city system attempted to be more innovative, more democratic.

Merger and busing combined to present the Byck principal, teachers, and staff with an extraordinary challenge. Merging the old city schools into the county system while coping with the problems of busing would have been a difficult task, but for Byck the problem was particularly vexing: Byck had come to depend upon the federal dollars that financed such programs as Follow Through and upon the federal policies that guided such programs. Busing and merger eliminated those programs and those guidelines. Suddenly the school was faced with the need to create a new instructional personality without federal help. As it turned out, the problem was a blessing in disguise.

To meet the challenge, problems were anticipated and solutions were thoroughly planned. Flexibility was the order of the day as principal, teachers, and staff searched for ways to deal with the crisis. An effort was made to do more than simply survive the upheaval; Byck wanted to make the first year of busing a particularly rich experience.

By the end of the year, Byck emerged as a more democratic institution, involving broad participation by teachers and parents in policy making and operational decisions.

When students arrived on the first day of busing, the scene was a happy one. Byck youngsters who were being sent to the four "away" schools had apple-shaped badges pinned to them. Those from the four "away" schools coming to Byck found a central hall bulletin board display that attempted to bind the five schools together, to create a cluster identity.

The happy scene was the result of intense planning with little time to prepare. The principals and P.T.A. presidents of the five schools met and decided to arrange a series of open meetings at each school to provide parents an opportunity to ask questions and to make suggestions prior to their children's first trip on the bus. The principals and P.T.A. presidents felt that parents' concern about their children's welfare at the "away" schools and their hostility toward busing in general needed to be expressed and dealt with openly. In the session at Byck, local parents met with parents of those children who would be bused to the school to demonstrate the parents' similar concerns about the school year ahead.

A few days before the beginning of school, a cluster meeting was held at a Byck cluster school for all teachers from the five schools, and it paid handsome dividends. The session was covered by network television news, thus enhancing the Byck reputation in the community and among cluster parents. More importantly, a special rapport among cluster teachers was achieved. Stereotypes and misconceptions that had divided city and county teachers were submerged for the more important business of making the first year of busing work.

The biggest problem on the first day of school turned out to be the caravan of cars strung out behind the buses coming to Byck from the four "away" schools. Those cars belonged to parents who wanted to make certain their children actually reached their classrooms. The traffic in front of the school and the traffic in the halls were the major obstacles to a smooth beginning. The core teaching staff, those remaining from the previous year, had pledged that each child would have a pleasant experience on that first day of school. With the help of the youngsters themselves, who generally responded to the crisis with open minds and intelligent awareness, the pledge was kept.

Besides this kind of intensive planning, the first year of busing also required enormous flexibility.

As a result of merger and busing, Byck, which had had a student population that was virtually all black, suddenly found itself with an enrollment about 84% white, 15% black, and 1% a mixture of other races. Redistricting added to the Byck attendance zone the Portland area, a nearby section of Louisville's West End that traditionally has been populated by low-income white families. In addition to this segment of low-income white students, large numbers of low-income blacks were assigned to Byck. Each of the other four schools in the cluster brought to Byck a contingent of middle-class and upper-middle-class white students. As a result, the Byck student body in 1975-76 was extraordinarily diverse socioeconomically, racially, and culturally. (The exception was in Head Start, kindergarten, and first-year classes, which were not bused. Here the classes were overwhelmingly black and uniformly low-income.)

The faculty absorbed major changes too. In the years prior to 1975-76, the professional staff had been divided about equally between blacks and whites. The federal desegregation order mandated that staffs and student bodies be near the ratio of 20% black and 80% white. This meant major faculty transfers.

In addition, staff reorganization was made more complicated by the loss of the Follow Through program. The program was removed from Byck because its design required that students maintain continuity in the same school. Since Byck was not one of the few schools exempt from busing, such continuity obviously was not possible. The loss of Follow Through meant the loss of about 65 people—teachers, aides, staff trainers, and assistants.

Early in the year, the atmosphere in the school system as a whole that fall was confused and disoriented, the result of too much change imposed too quickly. Many teachers were overwhelmed and bewildered by the extensive changes they were required to make. Many were frustrated with the demands of adapting to a radically different educational philosophy and a culturally different student population and staff. These frustrations were compounded by resentment of the legal force that required these changes.

Each week brought some new crisis during the 1975-76 school year.

For example, it was discovered when the enrollment figures stabilized in mid-autumn that schools clustered with Byck were short of teachers. Several who had been involuntarily assigned to Byck were sent back to their former schools, thus neutralizing some of the anger and tightening the cohesion of remaining Byck faculty. By the end of the year declining enrollment in the system, including Byck, caused the loss of more Byck faculty.

Faculty problems were not the most devastating result of busing. A more demanding problem was the required change in instructional programs. With the merger, most of the structure of the instructional program at Byck was destroyed more drastically than that at other schools in the old city system. Byck had been committed to the highly structured Follow Through program. It was one of the old city system's more innovative schools.

Actually, however, the programmatic chaos that followed in the wake of the end of Follow Through at Byck was a kind of blessing. It produced an unusual degree of freedom in the classroom. Each grade grouping, left without Follow Through or other federal guidelines, developed its own instructional design.

The first grades attempted a readiness program. The second grades were self-contained and heterogeneously grouped. Fourth grades undertook a team-teaching design with ability groupings. The fifth and sixth grades used a modified departmentalization plan in which one teacher would offer instruction in math or language arts while another teacher offered social studies and science.

Teachers applauded the arrangement for the freedom it provided, in contrast to the rigid demands of Follow Through and other federal programs. That freedom was needed in order to organize each grade to deal with the whole new curriculum that merger imposed, with different materials and texts and with many programmatic and organizational additions.

Among the additional programs that had to be absorbed was the Jefferson County system's continuous progress plan, which divided traditional grades into 19 learning levels. Also, in the special education area, a Learning Disability Resource class was added to the school. Diagnostic Prescriptive Instruction was added to the primary grades to compensate for the loss of Follow Through. The county system's music program, which used music specialists rather than the city approach of using regular classroom teachers, was introduced.

Flexibility was needed, too, in adjusting to the county curriculum. Before the county curriculum guides could be used, it was necessary that the levels of each of the city students be determined so that they could take their appropriate places among the 19 learning levels.

Also, the new curriculum required different texts than those available at Byck. These were acquired from many sources. Meanwhile, the loss of the Follow Through program removed most of the available texts and instructional materials in the primary grades. As a result, a supply of stored and obsolete texts had to be disposed of in some fashion. As is usual at Byck, a problem became a boon for the children. The books were sorted, one by one, and those that were usable in music or other programs were properly assigned. The remainder were made available to Byck students. The rules were not allowed to stand in the way of enriching the lives of youngsters, many of whose homes typically were without such books.

Byck also had the benefits of some new personnel. A full-time counselor was added, with responsibilities that included the administration of testing programs. Here too, change was mandated by merger. The county system had used the Stanford Achievement Tests but had not administered them to all grades. The city system had given the California Achievement Test to all grades each spring. With merger it was felt that it would be well to give the Stanford tests to each grade level throughout the new, merged system in order to measure any progress that the court order might have achieved.

Another new staffer was a security guard, hired to allay parents' fears. His cheerful, generous, sensitive handling of duties belied the term "guard." Byck students came to see him as part of the normal ebb and flow of things in the school.

To avoid adding operational problems to all the other changes in the 1975-76 school year, the principal moved forcefully to solve an existing cafeteria problem. It was his fear that school morale—already tenuous with the advent of busing—could be seriously undermined by poor operation of the cafeteria. There existed a problem of inferior quality lunches that were poorly packaged and poorly served. The new manager improved working relations among cafeteria staff and developed better rapport with students and the teaching staff.

In the midst of all this change, Byck might have settled for simply "getting by" for the first year of busing. Instead, the school enriched its program and expanded parent participation.

Much of the enrichment came as part of the effort to bolster human relations:

1. Parents were formally invited twice that year to visit the school during the lunch period and eat with their children.
2. A number of parents were invited to visit classes and talk about their careers.
3. Halloween was celebrated with a costume parade through the halls.
4. The city editor of one local metropolitan daily newspaper taught a seminar on production and uses of newspapers to all grade levels.
5. A yearbook was published.
6. The five-school cluster published a newsletter, and a cluster liaison committee kept parents at all five schools aware of what was happening.
7. A parent library committee was created to bring adults into the school as resource workers and aides.
8. Parent visitations were held in both spring and fall. Festivals were also held in each of those seasons.
9. The Bicentennial was celebrated with one entire day of activities involving all grades.
10. Parent volunteers involved themselves in everything from popcorn sales to classroom assistance.

11. Parents catered a dinner for teacher appreciation day.

12. Near the end of the school year, a field day was organized involving students and large numbers of parents.

13. A volunteer dinner was held at which certificates were presented to parents who had devoted time to various school activities and projects.

The Byck philosophy assumes that the home, the school, and the community should work together in every way possible for the education of the child. The staff understood this and searched for ways to exploit parents' energies meaningfully. They drew on Byck's long history of parental involvement in the classroom to find ways to put these new troops to work. Parents in the classroom was not a consequence of busing; it was a permanent feature at Byck, broadly expanded in the special circumstances of 1975-76.

Parental involvement was tailored to meet the special needs of this special year. For example, with a number of new programs being launched (music, for one), the staff needed time to plan strategy with support personnel. Parents made this possible by taking over classes on a teacher inservice day at which all faculty members had an opportunity to meet with specialists. This one activity may have accomplished more in terms of smooth transition to these new programs than any other single effort.

There was community involvement too. Byck had a special relationship with the H.O.P.E. Street Academy. This program allowed young people from the streets to serve as aides in the classrooms while they continued working toward their GED certificates at the Academy.

With federal mandates gone, Byck had to create mandates of its own. Its method of doing so was a kind of participatory democracy, which took institutional form in the succeeding years. Anticipating problems, dealing with them flexibly, and enriching students' experiences were all-important themes at Byck during the first year of busing. But the most important theme was broad participation in decision making. The principal shared power, and as a result, shared success with all parts of the Byck family.

1976—1977

In the first year of busing Byck met the big, obvious challenges. By the second year, with major logistical and organizational problems solved, Byck began to deal with the details of life within the school and participation in an organized self-study to identify critical problems.

It was immediately apparent that much of the apprehension and hostility of the previous fall had been erased. The general impression among parents seemed to be that youngsters bused to Byck received superior instruction and were well motivated. With the beginning of the new school year, a number of children voluntarily elected to be bused back to Byck for a second term. Their parents said Byck's social and academic climate met their children's needs.

A more efficient operations team enabled the principal to devote more time to dealing with the influx of the new students from a neighboring district. Many of these students came to Byck with both behavioral and academic problems. Their previous educational experience had been in a more permissive setting. They had enjoyed the freedom to move about the school with little direct supervision. They were not required to complete particular kinds of work at specified times. Academic choices frequently were made by the students themselves. Achievement levels among these students frequently did not match the achievement levels of their counterparts at Byck.

This problem provided the opportunity for broad staff participation in changing the instructional approach. The principal presided over a number of heated exchanges, in which differing instructional theories were debated. The arguments touched on differing ways of meeting students' academic, behavioral, social, and emotional needs. The problem was complicated by the need to help students adjust to a new school environment in which they were confronted with youngsters from very different socioeconomic backgrounds. In addition, parents of this new group of students were hostile to their being assigned to Byck. They had developed intense loyalty to their community school.

One solution was a transition class in which these youngsters could work to bring themselves up to appropriate achievement levels, a goal consistent with the countywide continuous progress program. This program proved to be an excellent vehicle for bringing the below-level students back into the educational mainstream. With respect to the social and behavioral problems, the decision was to wean these students away from the less-disciplined approach slowly. Using the successful techniques from the federally funded Follow Through program, the faculty used positive reinforcement to modify behavior. The results were gratifying.

Among these students in their fourth or fifth year in school were some who were nonreaders. By the end of the school term many had become readers. In addition, many parents expressed their appreciation of the progress their children had made.

Not bound by inflexible adherence to systemwide programming, Byck once again tailored its instruction to the needs of its other students. The first and second grades remained in homogeneous groupings. The third grade moved from heterogeneous to homogeneous organization. The fourth and fifth grades used a version of the team-teaching approach in order to take advantage of teachers' special abilities and training.

Just as Byck was about to settle into its second, less disruptive year of busing, a teachers' strike was called. A 10-day job action resulted, in part, out of the hostilities and tensions that were generated by desegregation and merger. Teachers felt imposed on and over-burdened by the multiplicity of changes that had occurred over a short period of time. In many schools a sharp division between administrators and teachers developed. No such polarization occurred at Byck.

The strike, however, paid some dividends. It helped to eliminate city-county differences; teachers received a duty-free lunch period; and teacher communication across grade levels was enhanced.

The October strike was followed by the worst winter in a century, shutting down schools throughout much of the Ohio River Valley.

Schools were closed for 16 days, which, added to the 10 strike days, meant that a significant block of instruction had been lost. The local school board's solution was, among other things, to extend the school day by one hour and 12 minutes. Byck teachers found that this was wasted time, but schedules were rearranged and both teachers and students suffered the fatigue of long hours.

That same terrible winter, Byck took a major stride toward participatory democracy. During the first year of busing, teachers formed an informal staff decision-making group. At the same time, the principal appointed a steering committee to oversee a self-study of Byck for purposes of accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. The county system required accreditation, and after merger, its policy prevailed.

In the fall of 1976, the staff subcommittees appointed for the Southern Association self-study were devastated by staff turnover. New subcommittees were appointed, and when the self-study was completed in the spring of 1977, this same group of teachers became a permanent Byck Steering Committee with a broad policy-making role.

The self-study was a crucial event in the recent history at Byck. Through it the faculty achieved a kind of unity it had not had before. The courses taken by many of the faculty at the University of Louisville in connection with the self-study were also important in developing this unity.

The self-study involved a thorough re-evaluation of the Byck instructional program. There was an increased awareness of instructional design and of the existing program's deficiencies. Chiefly, the self-study resulted in a more cohesive instructional approach.

It was through the self-study that the faculty began to understand and accept the principal's style, goals, and general philosophy. While many of his views had been implicitly understood, the self-study provided a forum in which they could be debated freely and fully. One of the principal's major concerns at this point was achieving greater accountability in instruction. He felt that a continuing inservice program, close monitoring of student progress, and quick resolution of pupils' problems could best be accomplished through the appointment of an instructional coordinator, a person who could cope with the diversity in experience and training among members of the staff.

His attempts to fund the position through regular channels failed. Looking for alternatives, he devised a plan in which one student would be added to each teacher's load, in order to free a member of the existing staff to serve as instructional coordinator. This plan was taken to the steering committee, which approved it and lobbied for it before the full faculty. The faculty approved the plan and voted for one of its own members to serve as the instructional coordinator.

This was a critical step in creating a democratic educational environment at Byck. It was bolstered by continuation of parental involvement in the instructional program and in general school policy making.

By the end of the first two years of busing, the period of crisis was over. At Byck a model for a proper learning environment was emerging.

It was a well-planned, pliable, enriched environment in which the broadest possible participation was encouraged.

1977—1978

On the first day of classes in 1977, a local newspaper reported that it had been a quiet beginning.

> Jefferson County public schools eased quietly into a third year of court-ordered desegregation today, with its morning marred only by minor bus breakdowns and a brief anti-busing demonstration in front of Valley High School on Dixie Highway....
>
> At noon today, most school officials reported near-normal opening-day attendance and no unusual problems.

At Byck things were quiet too. But the veneer of calm obscured some dramatic changes in the educational program. For the first time since merger and desegregation, Byck began an instructional year with a design and a direction that reflected a real knowledge of its student population.

Prior to that first day, planning had been intense. During the first two years of the merged city-county school system, students assigned to be bused from the other cluster schools arrived at Byck without instructional records; students were initially assigned to Byck classes merely on the basis of years in school. To remedy this situation, in the spring of 1977 the Byck staff developed a preregistration form that identified incoming students by name, year in school, math and language arts levels, textbooks used, and other relevant factors. The preregistration form was shared with all cluster schools and enabled the staff at all schools to prepare for a student turnover that averaged 80% annually at Byck and 20% at each of the "away" schools in the cluster. This kind of preparation is now standard operating procedure within the cluster schools. Now the first day, rather than being spent getting settled, is the day the instructional program begins.

Students wouldn't have noticed, but over the summer the instructional coordinator had organized teachers' orders for materials. Their requests from the previous spring were ready for use on the first day of school. Also, a central location from which to draw textbooks and materials had been established.

Some things were more obvious. Two physical education rooms had been set up, one upstairs and the other downstairs. An art center also was created. Although full-time personnel in these areas still were not available, Byck at least made a significant gesture toward establishing these programs.

Physical education and art were only symbols of something larger that had happened. They were outgrowths of the self-study mentioned earlier. Through this study Byck put itself back together again. Its principal and staff brought order and cohesion to the learning plan. They created a structure within which all personnel would help in implementing the plan.

Most certified staff members assigned to Byck for the 1977-78 school year had taught there the previous term and had contributed, in one way or another, to the self-study. As a result of the study's findings with respect to academic organization, the staff had implemented homogeneous grouping in accordance with the county curriculum, i.e., by levels of academic performance. The students now were ready to take their places within the 16 sequential math and language arts levels in first through fifth years. They would progress at their own pace with a curriculum that provided an ordered scope and sequence.

Teachers finally had a plan that provided for consistency throughout the entire school program and that accommodated a range of achievement levels in individual classrooms. The plan was designed by the faculty as the best way to implement the countywide levels program, with classroom populations that spanned only a limited number of levels. This narrowed the wide range of achievement around which instruction had had to be designed in the past. Children who were off level, that is, children who had not completed or mastered levels as expected, were assigned to appropriate classes. The organizational structure enabled the faculty to see the total program across grade levels and years in school.

Changes in instructional design were accompanied by changes in instructional leadership. The newly created position of instructional coordinator helped to broaden the base of in-school leadership. This coordinator was charged with insuring that the needs of individual students and teachers were being met by the program. She served as the schoolwide facilitator in all day-to-day matters pertaining to instruction. This, like the operational improvements achieved over the years, would free the principal to devote additional time to long-range planning and community involvement.

Initially there was some apprehension on the part of the school staff over how best to use the talents of the instructional coordinator. There was a tendency to view the coordinator as an authority figure or supervisory agent, rather than someone to assist the staff in ordering and organizing instructional materials for the staff, in handling crisis situations in the absence of the principal and/or counselor, in arranging inservice training to meet needs identified by staff, in encouraging the steering committee's efforts, and in working directly with parents. Gradually the instructional coordinator laid the groundwork for a relationship of trust and cooperation with the total school staff. This trust was demonstrated in the increasing time spent by the coordinator, working with individual teachers to solve instructional and behavior problems.

During the 1977-78 school year there was increased communication among all segments of the Byck population—students, parents, and staff. The input provided by staff in school decision making increased the trust and cooperation between staff and administration.

In terms of socioeconomic status and levels of parental education, Byck's youngsters are worlds apart. All Head Start, kindergarten, and first-grade students are from the local area. These three grades are exempt from the court's desegregation order and are not subject to busing. They are similar in terms of low socioeconomic status and low levels of parental education. Byck's second- through fifth-grade students differ significantly from the younger students. Equal portions of the population in these grades come to Byck from widely divergent backgrounds. Those bused to Byck from the cluster's "away" schools (Hawthorne, Stivers, and Dunn) live in areas of the county characterized as high in socioeconomic status and attendant privileges. They are youngsters whose parents have attained high levels of education and who come to Byck academically prepared.

By contrast, the second- through fifth-grade students who come to Byck from its own drawing area are from backgrounds of low socioeconomic status, low levels of parental education and, commonly, low levels of student achievement. This student diversity is among the most extreme in the county system.

The impact of this diversity is difficult to measure precisely, but it is clear that some things are happening. Students are exposed to adults whose occupations are different from those with whom they normally associate. One youngster rushed home and reported to his parents that the mother of a black friend in his class had come to school and that she was a policewoman. A white, upper-middle-class boy seeing a black, female authority figure in a nonstereotyped occupation role will have to question his racial attitudes.

Students who have come to Byck since busing have absorbed many things that have broadened their horizons. They have learned something about the predicament of the other half—either the richer half or the poorer half. Ideas are absorbed by osmosis. Nobody has to preach. Youngsters from poverty families may notice that those from wealthy families have problems getting along in the everyday world, too. Wealthy youngsters may learn that their friends from low-income areas tend to show more independence, take more responsibility for the management of their own lives. These low-income students sometimes have special behavior problems, have more freedom than their affluent counterparts, and are often more verbal. The affluent youngsters tend to manage their academic duties better.

Since youngsters come and go at Byck as a result of the court's busing order, there is a very small student population that remains constant. These are low-income white students from the Portland area. While the shifting student population makes it difficult to assess Byck's long-term impact, statistics suggest there has been progress among the Portland whites.

There were other measures of progress—all subjective, to be sure. Relatively large numbers of parents voluntarily elect to have their children remain at Byck after their assigned years for busing have elapsed. Logistically, and in terms of peer pressure among East End friends, voluntarily keeping a child at Byck is at times a personal sacrifice. The fact that a number have made that choice is an indication that Byck is offering something special. The selection of books in the media center also reflects increased sophistication among students generally, and test scores indicated improvement in third year math. Another indication of progress was the drop from two remedial Reading Plus programs to one in 1976 and 1977, as students were brought back to level in this area.

Parental comments, while often obtained from second-hand sources, suggest that Byck is succeeding. They are almost uniformly positive.

Achieving this kind of progress required some difficult decisions. Many students had to be held back in order to be brought up to level in language arts and math. The staff itself decided to draw a hard line at an 80% cutoff score on criterion-referenced tests. The decision, made by the academic steering committee, paid dividends.

In order to do this sort of student assessment the way it wanted to, Byck staff had to challenge some existing systemwide policies. It took a trip to the Board of Education to win approval to use a criterion-referenced pretest as a needed diagnostic tool. Establishing the 80% cutoff score was, in itself, something of a bold act. The countywide system had no set rule or measure for deciding when a level has been mastered by a student.

Teachers themselves were involved in a variety of enrichment efforts. Inservice workshops were held during the year on topics identified by the faculty itself. Resource people were asked to share their expertise with teachers. Mainstreaming and special education was one target area. Workshops also were held in the areas of language arts, math, physical education, and others. The workshops seem to have contributed to a smoother operation of the special education programs. Especially useful was the work done in identifying students for testing.

In this year teachers also participated in a special staff self-evaluation, designed by the steering committee and implemented only at Byck. It provided an opportunity for staff members to offer constructive suggestions to anyone on the staff, certified or noncertified. The evaluations were shared with the individuals in question.

Byck teachers also continued their graduate course work and seminars; many classified staff members also continued their education. The teachers at all levels were involved in professional organizations. These efforts indicated a desire on the part of the faculty and classified staff to pursue certification in special fields, to increase skills, and to stay abreast of recent developments. The staff also appeared to be eager to share newly acquired knowledge and expertise with their colleagues. The collection of professional books and magazines in the library was expanded. More reference materials were made available to supplement the curriculum.

Byck's commitment to enrichment did not wane in the third year of busing. For example, a Portland/Russell area neighborhood tour was organized and helped draw the surrounding community closer to Byck. The library presented a program of slides and information concerning the Portland/Russell areas for both students and the community. The tour familiarized students with the long history of the community near which Byck is located.

In the fall and spring there were the usual festivals. Students made arts and crafts articles. The proceeds from the festivals were allocated to teachers for enrichment programs and activities. Money also was used to install a telephone in the Media Center, to buy a cafeteria fan, and to purchase mats for the gym. At the end of the school year a field day was held again, with ribbons for all participants and sack lunches and treats provided by the still-vital P.T.A. and the cafeteria staff. The total school was involved in making this a satisfying day for everyone.

Special programs in the arts also enriched the Byck experience during the year. The Special Arts and Partners program brought the Blue Apple Players drama group, pottery makers, and ballet dancers to the school. When proposals were to be written for more of such programming the next year, Byck had one of the largest responses of any school in the system, indicating enormous teacher interest.

Other resources brought into the school included parents in the tutoring program, an animal specialist from the local zoo, parents for career education, and media specialists for a media workshop. The activities were integrated into the curriculum.

Faculty preparation and planning, a new and cohesive instructional design, broad participation in school decision making—all these contributed to supportive teacher attitudes through the school year. Broadened participation in the leadership process and a corresponding increase in understanding of the total school program developed support among the staff for what came to be called the "Byckian" model: openness, personal responsibility for instruction, concern for the welfare of students (your own as well as others), a willingness to invest personal time, open dealings with parents, professional growth, sharing of instructional strategies and materials, trusting colleagues to do a good job, and maintaining high expectations for students.

Democratic participation in implementing the Byckian philosophy was institutionalized in the steering committee. It was a real beginning.

When a severe snow crisis arose, closing schools for weeks, Byck clicked along nicely. Teachers designed telephone trees for passing out assignments. Snow packets with ditto materials for home use with educational television programs were prepared. The weather caused a countywide loss of inservice days, a loss of spring break, an extended school year, and an earlier calendar for 1978, but the Byck staff, consumed in its efforts to improve the educational program, looked upon the weather as a secondary challenge. Creating the right atmosphere for learning was more challenging than the snowbank.

1978—1979

Byck Elementary School was able to endure the years of crisis between the fall of 1975 and the spring of 1977. Holding fast to what was good from the past and learning the lessons of the busing years, Byck had created a new personality for itself by 1977-78. That new personality continued to develop in 1978-79.

When Byck students arrived in the fall of 1978, old friends were there to greet them. Personnel turnover had been minimal over the summer. However, there were some new faces on the staff. The counselor and speech therapist became full-time staff members. Administrative personnel did not change. The same people were at their desks in the school office and at the steam table in the cafeteria. The only significant turnover was in the custodial staff.

Some of the school's equipment had been upgraded over the summer. Physical education equipment and several color television sets had been added. But for the most part, Byck remained as it was.

This kind of stability, combined with the preregistration and intensive preterm planning, enabled the school to begin classes efficiently, despite another change in student population.

The nearby Perry Elementary School had been closed as a result of declining enrollment. Perry had been clustered with predominantly white schools in other areas of the county. One of those distant schools in the Perry cluster was added to the Byck cluster in the redistricting plan.

By the fall of 1978, most parents at Byck were comfortable with their school. These parents, however, proved to be more difficult to integrate into the Byckian model. They were generally lower-middle-class, blue-collar families. Their loyalties historically were with the community in which they lived. It was not a simple matter to transfer that allegiance to a school miles away that was located in the inner-city ghetto.

Other parents in the cluster became involved in school acivities and programs. Those from the high-income areas of the county's East End typically were tolerant of change and willing to try new approaches. Also, the low-income white and black parents from areas near Byck looked upon the school as part of their community. Its programs over a number of years have reached out into that community, building bridges between home and school. By contrast, the redistricted school parents, as a group, proved to be reluctant to embrace the change from their community school to Byck.

Fortunately the Byck approach to the continuous progress program was one into which the new students could be melded without great difficulty. These youngsters took their places in the homogeneous classrooms, based on their past performance. Minimal changes were required. By the end of the year, these students had adapted to the new surroundings; however, the parents had not yet demonstrated the kind of involvement that very high-income and very low-income parents had.

With all the changes that Byck endured over the period from 1974 through 1979, the school's racial composition changed too. Prior to busing the school was overwhelmingly black. By the end of 1979, the racial composition was 84% white, 15% black, and 1% other races.

The large number of special education students in the Byck building did not cause extraordinary difficulties. However, increased monitoring and evaluation of special education programs by the state and federal governments introduced some rigidity in administration of the program and added to the required paperwork. The staff continued to adapt to such change with relative ease, drawing on the flexibility that earlier enabled it to cope with federal educational programming and later to meet the difficulties of the busing years.

The special education students at Byck, when added to the low-income blacks, low-income whites, lower-middle-class whites, and high-income whites, form an extremely diverse student body. Meeting all the needs of these students is difficult at best. It could not be done without a unifying philosophy.

Teachers make extraordinary efforts to meet these special problems. For instance, during the school day there is not a specifically designated time for home visits, individual tutoring, or planning. However, most teachers feel that these are integral parts of their jobs. Thus many use personal time in these areas. At Byck this kind of attitude is cultivated and bolstered within a democratic learning environment.

The Byck principal and instructional coordinator work together to foster the child-centered philosophy to which the school is dedicated. More importantly, they are eager to share responsibility with the Byck staff. They draw upon all groups within the school, making opportunities for participation and leadership available to teachers, parents, noncertified staff, community residents, and students themselves.

The extent to which Byck reaches out into its family to encourage participation in decision making is apparent in its treatment of paraprofessionals. Over the past five years Byck has had varying degrees of paraprofessional involvement. This year there have been paraprofessionals in the Head Start program, kindergarten classes, orthopedically handicapped class, Reading Plus center, first-grade classrooms, school office, and cafeteria. Most of these paraprofessionals were originally involved in Byck as parents (although many no longer have children in the school) or as part of the Follow Through program. They now are involved in making policy and program decisions, and very little distinction is made between professional and paraprofessional staff in terms of status within the school.

Within the last year a special effort has been made to create situations in which students also take some responsibility for operation of the school and its programs. Students have served on the school's human relations committee and have run the new radio station, B.Y.C.K.

These various forms of participation, these structures for power-sharing, all have their individual reasons for being. But all serve the general goal of bringing the broadest possible participation in decisions affecting educational policy questions.

Finally, all these structures have an aggregate effect. Together they produce a kind of creative energy. They produce an educational atmosphere in which ideas are bouncing back and forth, sometimes in unexpected directions. The result is a greatly enriched program at Byck.

Parents have enriched the Byck experience with volunteer work, as have individuals in the community around the school. They have served in the media center, in the career education program, in human relations activities as classroom aides, in tutorial programs, and in fund-raising activities. The premise on which Byck operates is that people will be willing to volunteer when they feel that they can make a difference; when they feel they are being made an integral part of the school's success.

Parents unfamiliar with Byck may, on the first visit to the classroom, stand sheepishly outside the door and wait for permission to "disturb" the class routine. They soon learn that there is little that is routine at Byck and that they do not need permission to come inside. They learn that, far from being viewed as disturbing the classroom, they are welcome to become part of it.

Student achievement continued to improve in the 1978-79 school year, based on data from the countywide criterion-referenced tests. Teachers' subjective assessments supported the view that something good was happening. Evidence of improved student achievement in reading and math was also apparent, based on scores from the Stanford Achievement Tests.

At the end of the school year in 1979, Byck had narrowed the gap in student academic levels. As a result, the staff now believes it can reduce the amount of homogeneous grouping that is used. In assessing the academic performance of the lower-level students, a particularly significant improvement in performance has been seen.

Student attitudes continue to be excellent. Morale among students is high. By walking the halls of Byck, listening to the dialogue in the classrooms, watching the involvement of youngsters in their work and in their play, any visitor will find that Byck students are excited about learning.

Conclusion

In the past five years Byck Elementary School has adapted to enormous changes. The impact of federal programming, the merger of two very different school systems, and the introduction of busing forced the faculty and staff to analyze what they had been doing. Out of that analysis came a more open, democratic institution in which there are many forums for broad participation by principal, staff, parents, and students in policy making and programs.

Building on the strengths of the past, Byck has maintained its commitment to child-centered education, to personal relationships among all members of the schoolwide family, and to achievement through positive reinforcement. Overcoming a kind of parochialism in its past, Byck has added a new commitment to the broadest possible involvement of all members of the Byck family.

There are indications that the new Byck is working. Improved test scores is one measure. But there are other measures, which, while not as precise, are equally important. If there were such a measure as a "laughter quotient," it would be high at Byck. If one could plot an "interest curve," it would reflect the enthusiasm of Byck students for their work. If there were a "vitality index" to measure the dynamism of Byck's program, it would indicate the abundance of creativity in the school's instructional work.

The challenge for the social scientist attempting to evaluate Byck's experience over the past five years is to find a method for quantifying the kind of progress that was achieved. Unfortunately, so much of what is happening in any good school is outside the reach of ordinary social science instruments. Repeatedly in their written comments for this study, parents have commented on the accessibility and leadership of the principal. How can those things be more precisely measured? How can their impact on students' achievement be quantified? Parents have talked about the personal relationships they have enjoyed with Byck faculty and staff. How can these relationships be explored so as to understand them fully? How can their impact be gauged?

Most importantly, what is happening to the students in the years they spend at Byck? Are they emerging with an improved self-concept? Do they feel better about themselves academically, socially, physically? Most members of the Byck family think that they do, but these sorts of measurements are not usually attempted in school evaluation. Nor is it known whether the impact of the years spent at Byck is felt throughout a student's career.

There are hints. For example, the systemwide food service program newsletter carried an item in September 1977 relating an incident witnessed at Byck by a visiting official: "A tiny kindergarten child came down the line, looking at the manager across her tray of ham, scalloped potatoes, green salad, a hot roll, and freshly baked cake. She dimpled, beamed, and confided, 'I like you.' The manager answered, 'I like you, too, sweetheart.'" At Byck it is presumed that when a child spontaneously suggests she likes a cafeteria worker or a custodian, she is saying that she likes herself a little too.

Nurturing this kind of positive self-concept is the foundation upon which the "Byckian" model is built. Good things are written on the faces of Byck students—in the classrooms, in the halls, in the cafeteria, in the playground. Achievement tests suggest that something good is happening, if one assumes that students who feel good about themselves perform well as a result. Parents report their satisfaction. Teachers, who are in close daily contact with students, believe that Byck youngsters are learning to like themselves.

But there is no objective measure. There should be. Hewing to the Byckian model demands constant vigilance in order to anticipate problems, to deal flexibly with them, to enrich the school program, and to maintain broad participation in decision making. Assessment of the results should be carefully tested, but until social scientists can offer some help, that ultimate test cannot be met.

Synthesis of the Case Studies

by

Leonard L. Gregory

Good urban elementary schools do exist. Such examples are the eight urban elementary schools involved in this project, all of which serve a socioeconomic level that makes them eligible for Title I funds.

This synthesis of case studies does not attempt to define any outcome variables other than achievement, nor was there any attempt to determine if an incident or factor interacted with another incident or factor to affect the achievement outcome. Rather, this study looks at why these eight schools were successful and attempts to determine if there were common elements among these successful schools.

The project staff dealt with the problem of external validity by using secondary resources. The Secondary Resource Study (see Part II) consisted of an aggregation of case study literature, reviews of research, and interviews with experts. The Secondary Resource Study stands on its own merits and was not done to achieve a consensus, but as a means of supplementing the eight case studies.

Each local team was asked to identify critical incidents in its school that had a positive effect on achievement outcomes. In order to identify and document these incidents, each local team questioned teachers, students, central office administrators, noncertified staff, parents, and leaders in the community. Teams also made use of school documents such as local studies, surveys, and test scores.

After reviewing the case studies, a synthesis was made out of which evolved several major headings. These were: 1) personnel, 2) instructional programs, 3) parent involvement, and 4) school environment control. Each of these will be discussed in the sections to follow.

1. Personnel

Personnel as a critical incident involved identifying the person or persons and their characteristics that made them successful in carrying out assigned responsibilities and in contributing to the achievement of students.

The Building Principal

Every case study singled out the principal as a critical incident that contributed to progress in student achievement. Without exception, each case study was clear and specific; the building principal does make a difference. In the eight schools in the study, there were four female principals and four male principals.

Time on the job did not appear to be a factor in the effectiveness of the principals. Two were hired in 1975, while two others have served in excess of 10 years in their schools. It could be concluded that the effectiveness of these eight principals had no direct relationship with either the sex of the individual or time on the job.

Participatory Decision Making. In each case, the principal provided for some form of staff input on decisions affecting the staff. Not only was the decision-making power shared, but also those who shared in the decisions shared the responsibility for the progress of children. When staff made suggestions for what needed to be done, the principal followed through.

A variety of advisory groups operated in the eight schools. A teacher advisory group, a teacher instructional policy group, and parent groups were generally mentioned. One school had a parent advisory committee, principal's cabinet, faculty steering committee, and cluster liasion committee involved in the decision-making process. Shared decision making seemed to create a positive atmosphere and a feeling of ownership of the decisions made affecting that school. This shared decision making is one factor that explains why teachers were willing to take vacation time without pay for inservice programs and why the teachers' union contract didn't stand in the way of effective school management.

Decentralized Staff Selection. The staff was hand-picked in each school. Staff members were usually loyal to the person who selected them and to the school. The staff displayed respect for the principal because they had been selected by him/her. Allowing the staff to be selected by the principal contributed to the building of a strong instructional program because the staff shared common goals for the overall school organization.

However, decentralized staff selection did not remove responsibility totally from the central office personnel department. The personnel department had to develop screening procedures that would identify candidates who would support the overall philosophy of the district. It was from this initial screening that the building principal made selections to fill vacancies.

Personal and Professional Characteristics. Personal characteristics identified among the principals in these successful schools included empathy, interest, concern, and being action-oriented.

Empathy was used to describe the principal's attitude toward teachers in one case. In the remaining seven cases the word "interest" was most often used to describe the principals' feelings toward the staff and students. In one case, the principal was described as having "primary interest for the welfare and betterment of children." In another case, the principal was said to have an "interest in the total child," and an example was given of a principal providing funds for activities out of his own pocket. Not only were the principals interested in their staff, but also in their staff's families by knowing the spouses and children by name and in one case, their birthdays.

Performance Expectation. High expectation was identified as a critical leadership factor. Each local team emphasized high expectation as a positive factor in raising achievement. Making expectations known, either verbally or by example, moved others to accept those same expectations. The principal, though not the only one, was the key person in stressing high expectations. He/she set the tone of the school. In all cases, principals were outcome-oriented. Principals and teachers (and in five cases, parents) met together to set goals and objectives for the pupils. Principals supported teachers in setting high standards for students. Principals would also meet with teachers to help them achieve success in the classroom.

There were cases where there were high expectations for other than the academic subjects. One local team observed, "Teachers, pupils, and parents are expected to show pride in school". Another case study reported, "The principal insists that students come to school every day, properly dressed and on time." Every case study noted that students were expected to be at school every day and on time.

Role Expectation. Role expectation involves both how one perceives oneself as the principal and how others perceive the role of the principal. While school district policy sets general expectations for the principal's role, what the principal perceives his/her role to be is actually what it is. Continuity and stability is characteristic of those schools where the perception of the principal's role by both the principal and the staff is about the same.

Data were not collected in the case studies to show how the individual principal perceived his/her role. However, teachers in each case study made it known that they knew what to expect from their principal. In more specific terms, the principal "set parameters," "held high expectations for staff members," and "in treating teachers as professionals, the teachers were expected to act accordingly." The most frequently mentioned principal role expectation was in the area of pupil discipline. Teachers felt they were "backed" or "supported" on disciplinary matters.

Another role expectation mentioned by teachers was that principals confronted problems quickly and forcefully. Their prompt attention to problems seems to have been a factor contributing to staff stability and high morale.

Woven into the cases were teachers' descriptions of their principal, using such words as energetic, lively, accepting, forceful, inspiring, unorthodox, optimistic, aggressive, highly visible, and steady. While this descriptive list is not exhaustive, it gives some indication of the staff's perception of the principal's leadership role.

Discipline. Every case study stressed that a school must have a firm discipline policy that includes student self-discipline. In each case, the principal was always visible in the halls, classrooms, multipurpose rooms, and cafeteria. A principal or vice-principal greeted students as they came to school in the morning and as they departed for home in the evening. One principal frequently had lunch with the students; another would take over a classroom or teach small groups of students as needed.

One principal was described as running a "tight ship," but was a friend to the students. Another school had had no suspensions for the last five years, which the local team attributed to high discipline expectations.

Summary. Leadership of the principal was a critical factor in the eight case studies. The principal sets expectations, motivates, plans, monitors, and manipulates both external and internal political forces. In developing a successful school, the following factors should be given consideration:

1. *Participatory Decision Making*. Although the principal must retain the ultimate responsibility for what happens in the school, a decision-making structure should be established to involve those who are affected by the decisions. In order for decisions to be long-lasting, the staff must also feel a sense of ownership of decisions made.

2. *Staff Selection*. The principal must have the final decision in selecting the staff. This includes teachers, custodians, cooks, secretaries, clerks, paraprofessionals, and volunteers. With this authority is the expectation that appropriate supervision and evaluation of all staff members will be done on a regular basis.

3. *Performance Expectation*. If high standards are to be achieved, these expectations must be made known to everyone in the school's community. Then planning and monitoring must be carried on to reach established goals.

4. *Personal and Professional Characteristics*. It has been stated many times that example is the best teacher. The principal must have a genuine concern for others, both staff and students. When the principal is able to encourage the staff and students to reach high expectations, this sets a high level of motivation.

5. *Role Expectation*. The principal should sit down with the staff at least annually and confer about perceived expectations for his/her position. Such conferring should enable the staff to feel more secure with the principal in the several leadership roles he/she performs.

Teachers

Neither teachers nor teaching were identified as a critical incident related to student achievement in any of the eight case studies. The lack of singling out the teaching staff as a critical incident should by no means detract from the importance of the teacher in the classroom. Rather, the nature of the case study approach made it impossible to single out and document a critical incident of teaching during any one time period. However, throughout the case studies, teachers were mentioned as important factors in the development of positive achievement outcomes, but unlike the principal who could be singled out for his/her actions, it was not possible to identify an individual teacher as making or breaking a staff.

The following characteristics of a good staff were identified:

High Expectations. High expectations were a part of a classroom management. Pupils were expected to achieve and behave. This theme is caught in the following quotes from the case studies: "Every staff member expects high output and discipline." "High expectation of students to achieve." "Can't tolerate lack of achievement." "Adults share a set of expectations for the behavior and achievement of children, and the children get the message and act accordingly."

Concern for Others. Care, sincere interest, committed, courteous, and service-oriented were terms included in personal descriptions of the staff. "At snow time, teachers set-up telephone trees to get out assignments, so students would not fall behind." Having a positive attitude and being courteous and complimentary to students built a positive self-image in them, which in turn is believed to help improve student achievement.

Role Expectation. In each case study, there was an expected role of cooperation among staff. In two cases, the staff was called "the family." Generally the staff worked together, shared materials, and ideas. In one instance, it was called team planning but was not referred to as team teaching. One case study reported, "Each staff member compliments each other."

Little data were collected as to pupils' role expectations for their teachers. In the area of discipline, however, students believed teachers to be firm. In speaking with respect and love about one principal, a student commented, "She is strict but not very mean."

Working with Parents. It was evident in all the case studies that teachers took time to work with parents. The teachers made parents feel welcome. Parents were an integral part of the educational process. In other cases, parents were particularly encouraged to read to their children. Teachers made visits to the home to get better acquainted with individual needs and to develop a rapport with parents by meeting on home ground.

Staff Growth and Development. Three of the eight case studies discussed their "intensive" inservice programs for staff development. The other five cases did not describe inservice activity, but the writer believes it had to be present since each had implemented new programs, replaced staff, and worked on individualization of instruction.

Staff evaluation was not seen as an important factor contributing to the success of these eight schools. One case study mentioned it was done "informally." Another case study indicated the staff was expected to have "self-discipline." In all cases, the principals held high expectations for the staff—one indication the principals did hold staff evaluation to be important.

Summary. From the case studies, the following conclusions can be made:

1. Schools should utilize staff development programs centered on the school's own goals or program objectives. The greater the specificity of the programs, the better the results.
2. Skill in working with individuals and groups should be developed. Concentration should be on developing attitudes, diagnosing and prescribing for student needs, working with volunteers and aides, working as a team, and working with parents.
3. Renewed efforts should be made to implement teacher evaluation programs that are directed to helping teachers succeed with students in the classroom.

Other Professionals and Paraprofessionals

Instructional Coordinators. Two of the case studies cited the addition of an instructional coordinator as a critical incident. In each case, this position was created by cooperative action of teachers and principals to solve an instructional problem. The professional staff, recognizing a need, agreed to accept additional teaching responsibilities in order to release a qualified person to fill this position.

In one school the instructional coordinator monitored student progress, developed new materials for units of instruction to serve both slow and bright students, and served as the coordinator for the teachers and the principal. In the other school the position was designed to deal with the diversity in experience and training among staff and to achieve greater accountability among the instructional staff. It served to broaden the base of in-school leadership by meeting the needs of the individual students and helping teachers solve instructional and behavioral problems in the classroom.

In a third school an assistant principal was appointed with duties similar to the instructional coordinators, but with the addition of discipline. This position was not identified as a critical incident, but was considered an important factor in the successful operation of the school. The addition of an assistant principal allowed the principal to devote much needed time to establishing positive relationships with the school's community.

Other Professionals. One case study identified the hiring of a new superintendent as a critical incident. Certain skills were needed by this new superintendent according to the recently-elected mayor (who was himself believed to be a critical incident), that would provide the district with an expectation of accomplishment. The new superintendent was known for his ability to design and implement innovative programs and "to make instruction more systematic and staff more accountable."

Other individuals were identified as important factors in the success of the school. A social worker who had been on the job 11 years helped parents work through problems. In another case, a counselor, who only recently had come to the position, was described as having "a humanistic nature."

Paraprofessionals and Volunteers. Paraprofessionals or aides were available in all eight schools. Other than helping the teachers, their responsibilities were not described in detail; however, they were an integral part of the school program. Two schools used volunteers. Parents were used in one school to help in the lower grades. In the other schools parents were used as tutors.

Summary. Supplemental staff members are an important part of a successful urban elementary school. No one has yet done an in-depth study on what that importance really is; however, when the supplemental staff is present, it seems to make a difference. It was apparent that the successful use of supplemental staff in the case study schools was based on an identified need of the individual school for supplemental staff and then addressing that need with a local solution. Even though data are not conclusive, it would seem that the closer a school can deal with students on a personal or individual basis with supplemental staff, the more positive the outcomes.

The following conclusions were generated from the case studies:

1. Supplemental staff should be used only after carefully diagnosing the needs of the school.
2. When using paraprofessionals, aides, and/or volunteers, it is impor-

tant to provide training to these persons related to their duties in the teaching-learning situation and especially in how to relate to students.

3. Teachers should be given special training in the use of supplemental personnel, whether professional or paraprofessional.

2. Instructional Programs

Programs. Specific programs were identified as playing an important part in student achievement in five of the eight schools. No two schools had initiated the same program; however, some commonalities did exist in most of the programs. It should be noted that one program was considered a failure but was, nevertheless, identified as a critical incident because of what it had done positively for the staff in that school.

One factor identified in the case studies was the cohesive instructional approach achieved by the professional staff. In order to develop a workable program, the staff had to work together as a team. One case study stated that the program "forced a kind of coherence." In another school when a particular program no longer had financial support, the unity of purpose, design, and execution of it made so much sense that the staff carried the structure to other programs throughout the school.

It was evident that each staff was willing to discard old ideas and initiate new programs in order to benefit the students. Programs were developed by those involved in implementing them, and those same persons were held accountable for the outcomes. Instructional personnel seemed to take a special interest in each new program, constantly reviewing and evaluating each student's progress.

One school noted as a critical incident the board of education's emphasis on reading and math. The board reduced pupil-teacher ratios in grades K through 4, increased use of paraprofessionals, encouraged the utilization of modern teaching aids, and implemented criterion-reference testing.

Instructional Organization. Each instructional program was developed around a set of objectives that identified skills and minimum competencies. Two schools indicated that a student had to achieve 80% on a post test before moving to the next skill and set objectives.

All but two schools noted that their reading program was individualized. In two schools the individualized programs were under a continuous progress plan. It was evident that there was an attempt to meet the child at his or her level and to monitor each student's development. A child was expected to fulfill each task with appropriate motivation from the staff.

Each program was designed to enable each student to function successfully inside and outside of school. Requiring minimum competency tests in order to be promoted to the next grade and closing the campus to control student behavior were methods used to fulfill these objectives.

Finances and Program Development. Additional funding was provided in five schools where new programs were initiated. This additional money gave new incentive to the staff, financed new programs emphasizing basic skills, and provided for intensive inservice training. All three of the foregoing factors have been previously discussed as having a positive effect on achievement outcomes.

Three case studies made no mention of additional funding for programs as critical incidents. Two case studies reported they lost their additional funding about three years ago with no prospect of new financial backing to make up the difference; however, they were able to retain the strength of the programs they had started.

Summary. From the case studies, the following conclusions can be made:

1. Funded programs are important to the success of these schools because of their emphasis on specific curricular objectives and a structure for carrying them out. The same emphasis can be sustained without additional funds when there is a commitment by those involved in the instructional process.
2. The more emphasis placed on particular content area, i.e., reading and mathematics, the greater the achievement.
3. Programs should be developed around clearly stated goals and objectives that emphasize skill development.
4. Individualized instruction should be implemented to allow students to progress at their own rate.

3. Parent Involvement

Each case study stressed parent involvement as an important factor in the development of student achievement in the school. Parents were involved differently in each school, the only commonality being that all schools had had Title I parent advisory committees. Following are some examples of school-parent partnerships identified in the case studies: enlisting parents to serve on volunteer committees; utilizing parents with special talents (one parent took a week's vacation to direct a talent show that attracted 2,000 persons); parents coaching girls' and boys' basketball teams without remuneration; parents tutoring; parents taking over classes for inservice days; and training parents in how to read to their children.

Because parents were made to feel like an integral part of the educational process, it was reported in two cases that the schools had as many parents visit in one month as other schools in the system had in a year. One principal had invited 25 parents to school to discuss the educational program; she expected 10 to attend, but 30 showed up. Other parents had heard about the meeting and decided to take off work in order to attend. Another principal was willing to meet the parents on their own territory, even in the local tavern, to gain their support. In three of the cases, it was reported that parents were involved in the decision-making process.

Summary. From the eight case studies the following conclusions can be made:

1. Students whose parents have a positive interest in the school and who support the school will tend to achieve better.
2. While informal involvement of parents is useful, more formal parent involvement through volunteer committees, tutoring, advisory groups, etc., is necessary.

3. There is a need for inservice programs to help teachers use parents effectively and to help parents to be effective in working in advisory groups and in working with students.

4. School Environment Control

Environment control involves creating a school atmosphere that will enhance learning in each student. It is not likely that a school staff can instill in students acceptable social behavior if the school environment is the same dingy, dirty, nondisciplined society from which the student came. In the eight case studies the schools attempted to overcome some of the negative aspects of the surrounding society. Even though the case studies did not identify all of the following factors as critical incidents, each school stressed they were important in the progress of that school.

Pupil Expectations. In many urban communities the major expectation is physical survival. However, in the eight case studies the administration and teachers held high expectations for students, especially in reading and math.

Regular attendance and being punctual were also expected of each student in each school. One school locked the doors at bell time; a child who was tardy had to return with a parent in order to attend school. These schools were places where every pupil wanted to attend and few students were intentionally late.

One principal used a responsive recitation regularly to instill expectations about school attendance and behavior. It goes as follows:

Principal: "What's the first thing we expect at (name of school)?"
Students: "Come to school every day and every day on time."
Principal: "What is our second expectation?"
Students: "Bring my tools and my manners."
Principal: "Number three?"
Students: "Do the very best work I can."

Another example of environment control is a school where the principal decided to have a closed campus in order to cut down on afternoon absences, altercations, and vandalism. All students were required to eat lunch at school. The decision to have a closed campus proved to be an effective control measure.

In spite of legal restraints on dress codes, these schools stressed proper dress and grooming. These were part of the expectations. In one school, for example, black males could not get into school if their hair was braided.

The administrators and teachers expected both pupils and parents to show pride in the school. There was a deliberate effort to help pupils and their parents to view the public school as "ours."

Teacher-Student Relationships. Relating to students on their own level involves more than just individualized instruction. The social skills of sharing, serving, and showing kindness to one another was taught by example in the eight schools in this study. This responsibility was shared not only by the professional staff but by the noncertified staff as well. One school observed that the entire staff, from the custodian to the teacher, had to be sensitive to the needs of students. Several case studies mentioned the importance of how the secretary greets the students. In another school the lunchroom was a major problem, which was resolved by discharging the head cook. The new person mixed with the children during the lunch period and taught them manners. There was a consistent effort to help students to understand the expected behavior not only in school but also to transfer that behavior outside of school.

Building Environment. One case study identified as a critical incident a major renovation and addition to their building. Even though the renovated portion of the building appeared old outside, the inside was attractive and reflected a warm and homelike atmosphere. The staff tried to make the buildings as attractive as possible, a place where students wanted to come and be a part of what went on.

Summary. The following conclusion may be extracted from the eight case studies:

> The environment of the school should reflect the desired behavior for the student to function effectively in society.

Part II

Secondary Source Study of Exceptionality In Urban Elementary Schools

by

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1. Introduction

Louis Wirth's (1938) classic conception of urban sociology postulates that absolute numbers, density, and heterogeneity of population are responsible for the dominant features of urban life. Hatt and Reiss (1957, pp. 18-19) suggest that increases in these variables result in concomitant increases in 1) the complexity and multiplicity of occupational, social, and physical structures, e.g., job specialization, social stratification, neighborhood boundaries; 2) population mobility; 3) impersonality of social interaction; 4) social tolerance; and 5) bizarre or unusual behavior. As a result, city neighborhoods are small and homogeneous, often isolating racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups. The mobility of the population, coupled with the impersonality of multiple social interaction inhibits the growth of a sense of "community" and its shared social controls. The economics of under- and unemployment interact with these factors to create an urban "pathology" of poverty, disease, crime, violence, and alienation.

Social institutions operating in these areas are placed under extraordinary strain. Such institutions are hard-pressed even in relatively stable and wealthy suburban and rural areas, but the concentration of problems in urban areas overburdens their taxed resources, sometimes to the breaking point.

For the urban public school, this situation manifests itself in low student achievement, lack of parental involvement and interest in public education, low teacher morale and job satisfaction, absenteeism, and vandalism. "Overloaded with too many students who themselves are overloaded with a multitude of individual and family problems, the public schools as traditionally organized and operated sometimes then may all but cease functioning educationally at all, becoming little more than custodial institutions in which students and teachers expect little and achieve less" (Levine, 1977, p. 30). The educational critics of the late Sixties, e.g., Jonathan Kozol, Herbert Kohl, and Edgar Friedenberg, dramatized the conditions in inner-city schools in their descriptive case studies.

In an update on the status of urban schools, Wolf (1978) examines the gap between the achievement of students in city schools and elsewhere, and presents discouraging statistics about the achievement of students in cities.

1. [A] student attending public school in a large city is almost twice as likely to be low achieving as are his peers elsewhere in the country (p. 180).

2. [C]ity students also perform at lower levels than their suburban counterparts with comparable incomes (p. 183).

3. Cities have a far higher percentage of schools which have large proportions of low achievers, and their low achieving pupils also tend to be more concentrated in the "low achieving" schools (p. 184).

However, despite the gloomy statistics for a majority of urban schools, there seem to be some exceptions: schools that have become "mavericks" or "outliers"; schools in which students do perform at high achievement levels; schools that are effective. After observing innovative educational programs in five big cities, Chase (1977) concluded that:

> Urban education has an inner vitality which is generating innovative programs and strategies of great potential even in the midst of extremely adverse conditions. Despite well-documented testimony on the low achievement in urban schools and recent statistics purporting to show the schools as the most dangerous place to be, we are discovering many administrators, teachers and other staff members who are demonstrating ability to rouse zest for learning in students from diverse backgrounds, including those whose histories have been marked by failure, loss of hope, and/or anti-social behaviors (pp. 35-36).

Similarly, Brookover (1977b), in an investigation of school climate and student achievement, found significant exceptions: schools in which low socioeconomic status (SES) students achieved at higher levels than typical for schools with such student populations (p. 229).

Successful urban schools do not occur out of the blue. They happen as a result of logical and rational decisions and actions on the part of educational policy planners, administrators, teachers, and/or parents. For example, the federal government has sought to improve the quality of urban education through such interventions as ESEA Title I, Head Start, and Follow Through. Urban districts have strived for school improvement through such strategies as the More Effective Schools program in New York City. At the building or neighborhood level, principals, teachers, and/or parents have acted to improve local schools through community and teacher involvement in decision making and curricular innovations.

Logical Structure of the Secondary Source Study

The objectives of the secondary source studies were to:

1. Illuminate the strongest possible hypotheses to explain the emergence of successful urban schools and programs; and
2. Generate recommendations for educational policy planners and decision makers for fostering effective urban elementary schools

In conducting the secondary source studies, data were collected on the effect(s) of one or more independent variables on specific dependent variables. The independent variables investigated were:

1. *Leadership*—group or designated leadership that influences efforts toward commonly accepted goals
2. *Personnel*—teachers, administrators, school board members, paraprofessionals
3. *Funds*—district budgetary allocations and/or special funds from outside grants or contracts
4. *Curriculum and Instruction*—what is taught and how it is taught; organization for instruction; curricular objectives

5. *Resources and Facilities*—instructional materials and equipment; building facilities
6. *Community*—contiguous extraschool setting; parents and other school-client groups; instructional and social resources of the community

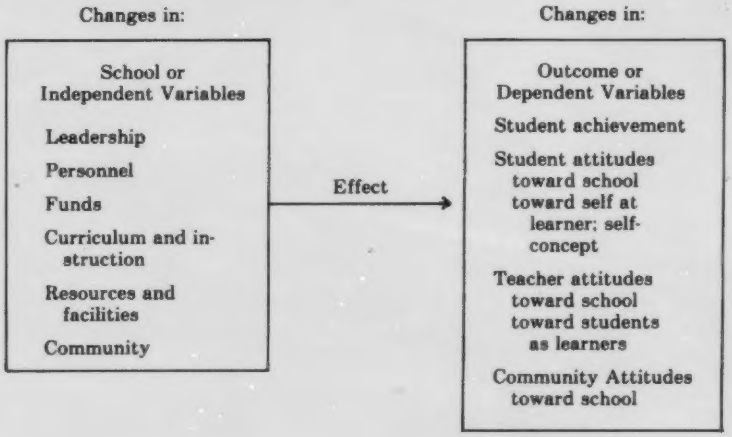
The student population was not treated as an independent variable in this study but was considered to be a constant. We were searching for exceptionality within a specific context—inner-city schools, schools typically characterized by low student achievement and serving low SES and minority students.

The four dependent variables used were the various criteria by which school or program success was measured:

1. Student achievement
2. Student attitudes
   a. toward school
   b. toward self as learner, self-concept
3. Teacher attitudes
   a. toward school
   b. toward students as learners
4. Community attitudes toward school

Fig. 1 illustrates how changes in school variables might result in changes in outcome variables. In this study instances of positive change in outcome variables were analyzed for concomitant changes in school variables.

Fig. 1. Relationship of Independent and Dependent Variables


Changes in:
School or Independent Variables
Leadership
Personnel
Funds
Curriculum and instruction
Resources and facilities
Community
Effect
Changes in:
Outcome or Dependent Variables
Student achievement
Student attitudes
toward school
toward self at learner; self-concept
Teacher attitudes
toward school
toward students as learners
Community Attitudes toward school

Data Sources: The Literature Search

To find out what is known about exceptionality in urban elementary schools, it was necessary to: 1) conduct a comprehensive search of potential data sources, and 2) establish a clear set of rules for the selection of studies relevant to the objectives of the study. The first would assure us that we had not overlooked important data sources. The second would insure that the data to be collected were appropriate and of sufficient quality to be worth aggregating.

Potential data sources included written documents, e.g., articles, reports, dissertations, etc., and individuals who were experts in the field of urban education. Individuals could be identified easily through multiple appearances and references in the literature. The literature search strategy proved to be a more formidable task. The search centered on three kinds of sources:

1. Sources providing access to a broad base of published and fugitive material:
    a. ERIC system files, 1966 to 1979
    b. DATRIX files of dissertation abstracts from 1970 to 1979
    c. *Education Index* from 1966 to 1979
2. Specialized sources providing access to current and in-process research.
    a. Program abstracts of the American Educational Research Association from 1976 through 1978
    b. Smithsonian Science Information Exchange
3. Citations and references in studies selected from 1 and 2 above.

The initial search of these sources yielded approximately 8,700 titles. For a detailed description of the literature search, see Appendix A.

Explicit criteria were needed to select those studies that were of substantive interest to the present inquiry and that were of sufficient methodological rigor to warrant inclusion. Abstracts, and in some cases only titles, were scanned, and those that met the following criteria were selected as potential data sources.

1. The study must relate one or more of the independent variables of the present inquiry to one or more dependent variables in an urban school setting.
2. The study must represent an attempt at systematic inquiry, i.e., the investigator must present some evidence on an outcome measure.

Application of these criteria resulted in the selection of roughly 1,200 studies as potential data sources.

The 1,200 studies were a diverse group, differing in both scope and focus. They included case studies, research reports, and aggregation studies that focused on schools, programs, and the effects of specified independent variables. Those studies not pertaining to the urban elementary school were eliminated. Those remaining were sorted into two categories:

1. Case studies: studies limited in scope to single schools or school districts.
2. Research studies: studies encompassing multiple schools in multiple school districts.

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Table 1 shows the system of categorization used.

Table 1
Types of Studies Used in Secondary Source Studies

Study Type	Substantive Focus			
	Urban Elementary Schools	Urban Elementary Programs	Effects of Specified Independent Variables	Total
Case Studies	95	92	66	253
Research Studies	38	128	349	515
Totals	133	220	415	768

Over 300 of the original group of 1,200 studies did not fit the substantive foci of Table 1. This left 253 case studies and 515 research studies. As one might expect, the bulk of the case studies focused on urban elementary schools and programs, while the bulk of research studies focused on the effects of specified independent variables. In addition to the studies, a list of approximately 25 experts was drawn up as potential interviewees.

Data Treatment

In all, the secondary studies deal with three distinctly different types of data: 1) case studies, 2) research studies, and 3) observations and generalizations about exceptional urban elementary schools obtained from interviews with experts. Therefore, three distinctly different techniques for aggregating data were used. The case studies were aggregated using the case survey method developed at the Rand Corporation by William Lucas (1974). This method is essentially a rigorous form of content analysis through which the presence and intensity of common characteristics, events, and outcomes are distilled. The research studies were aggregated using a form of propositional analysis in which repetitive findings and conclusions were recast in the form of generalizations about interrelationships among events, resources, processes, and outcomes. The interview data were aggregated descriptively; repetitive observations and areas of consensus among the experts were used as the basis for generalizations about the current state-of-the-art in urban school improvement. Finally, the findings from the aggregation of the substudies were compared and synthesized into a set of generalizations that summarize what is known about the causes of exceptional performance in urban elementary schools. These generalizations then became the basis for generating recommendations directed to educational policy planners and decision makers at the local and federal levels interested in fostering urban school improvement.

The three substudies offer unique perspectives on the same phenomenon. Despite differences in data sources and analysis techniques, information was gathered in each instance on the identical set of independent variables and their effect on specified outcome measures. As a result, each of the three substudies can be viewed independently or as a group. Independently, each makes important contributions to our understanding of exceptionality in urban schools. Viewed together, the three become pieces of the same puzzle. Generalizations supported by all three substudies can be offered with greater confidence than those supported by one or even two of the substudies. The final generalizations are those with the strongest support in the case literature, research literature, and among experts.

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2. An Aggregation of the Case Study Literature

by

Martha M. McCarthy

Despite the mounting evidence of the failure of urban education (Levine, 1977, Wolf, 1978), some schools stand out as mavericks because they *are succeeding*. One perspective on these exceptional urban elementary schools was obtained by aggregating data from case study reports. Since case studies of individual schools or single school districts tend to have limited generalizability, it was felt that a compilation of common characteristics across studies would provide a more powerful basis for making inferences about relationships between school attributes and school effects.

Search Strategy

As described in the previous chapter, the search for materials for the secondary source study involved uncovering sources of data and then selecting appropriate data from the identified sources. This search process identified 253 case studies for possible inclusion in the aggregation analysis. The cases were subsequently reduced to 86. Cases were excluded for the following reasons:

1. They did not provide evidence on at least one of the independent variables (leadership, personnel, financial allocations, curriculum and instruction, resources and facilities, and community interactions) in relation to a *positive change* in one or more of the dependent variables (student achievement, student attitudes toward school, student self-concept, teacher attitudes toward students, teacher morale, and community/parent attitudes toward school).
2. They did not employ systematic inquiry techniques.
3. They focused on nonschool factors provided by districts to supplement regular school instruction, e.g., media centers, after-school programs.
4. They focused on a narrow emphasis, e.g., career education programs that were evaluated in terms of specific program objectives.
5. They focused on nonelementary or specialized elementary student groups, e.g., preschool or special education students.

Case Survey Approach

Due to the diversity represented by the 86 case studies retained for the analysis, it was necessary to distill the array of descriptive information within a common framework. Hence, the modified case survey methodology as described by Lucas (1974) was used to aggregate the studies. Using this approach, reader/analysts applied a highly structured checklist to all case studies and recorded answers in a form to allow quantitative treatment of the data. The subsequent content analysis of the cases was based entirely on responses to these checklist items.

The checklist (see Appendix B, Note 1) included items on the nature of the case study, its methodological characteristics, the variables considered significant in determining school effects (independent variables), and outcome measures used to document school or program effects (dependent variables). The checklist was trial tested with a sample of studies, revised, and then applied by three reader/analysts to the 86 cases. Definitions and interpretations were compared among analysts to insure reliability in interpreting the checklist items and to maintain consistency across studies. A consensus approach was used to resolve questions that arose in applying the checklist to specific cases.

Some checklist responses served to exclude case studies (e.g., if no evidence was presented on any of the six outcome variables). As a result of applying these questions, 27 case studies were eliminated from the aggregation analysis. After checklists were completed for the remaining 59 cases, responses were analyzed, using frequencies and cross tabulations, to determine relationships among school characteristics and between these characteristics and school outcomes.

The findings are presented and discussed in eight sections. The first section consists of background data on the case studies. The next six sections are devoted to analyzing the independent variables and the relationships among these variables. The final section involves a comparison of cases based on differences in research quality.

1. Nature of the Case Studies

The 59 case studies included in the aggregation exhibited some similarities in background characteristics. Over half of the studies (n = 34) were conducted between 1971 and 1974.* The majority of the studies were sponsored by either the federal government (n = 24) or local education agencies (n = 20) and conducted by local education agencies, private research agencies, or universities (n = 21, 13, and 13 respectively). Over half of the studies appeared in reports to sponsoring agencies (n = 31).

Most of the cases involved direct interventions aimed at school improvement, and generally the intervention strategies entailed the simultaneous manipulation of several variables. In fact, over half of the studies (n = 31) documented that variables within four or more of the independent variable categories were significant in determining school effects (see Appendix B, Note 3). Most cases reported that variables pertaining to curriculum and instruction (n = 51) and professional and paraprofessional personnel (n = 47) were significant components of intervention strategies. The only other variables considered significant in more than half the studies involved financial allocations to the school or unit (n = 34). Variables pertaining to community interactions, resources and facilities, or school/program leadership were considered significant in 27, 24, and 21 cases respectively. In gathering evidence on the independent variables, inquirers most often employed observations (n = 31), interviews (n = 24), and questionnaires (n = 19).

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*For checklist questions pertaining to background information, reader/analysts recorded "certain" if the information was specified in the study. If inferences were made, the answers were recorded as "likely." A breakdown of frequencies by "certain" and "likely" for selected background information items appears in Appendix B, Note 2.

More than one third of the studies described independent variables in relation to one outcome measure (n = 22); nine documented relationships with two outcomes; and 17 reported relationships with three outcome variables. Only 11 of the studies documented evidence on more than three dependent variables (see Appendix B, Note 4). In studies investigating two or more outcomes, the outcome variables were not paired in any consistent fashion.

Although most of the case studies involved multiple intervention strategies, the effects of such strategies were documented mainly in terms of pupil performance. All but five of the 59 studies used student achievement as an outcome variable, and in 21 cases it was the sole outcome investigated. Less than one third of the studies investigated student attitudes toward school (n = 19), community or parent attitudes toward school (n = 18), student self-concept (n = 12), teacher attitudes toward students as learners (n = 12), or teacher morale (n = 11). Eight outcome measures were investigated in the studies in addition to the dependent variables specified on the checklist. The following "other outcome variables" were reported in at least two cases: student discipline (n = 2), student absenteeism (n = 4), and teacher effectiveness (n = 6). Standardized tests were employed most frequently to gather evidence on dependent variables (n = 50), and such tests were used primarily to document changes in student achievement (n = 43).

As one would expect due to the criteria used to select cases for the aggregation, the independent variables consistently were reported in relation to positive changes in outcome measures. There was no evidence of trade-offs among dependent variables, e.g., teacher morale did not decline as student achievement increased. Because of this consistent pattern of positive effects (documented primarily in terms of pupil achievement gains), specific data on the outcome measures are not included in the subsequent sections of this report. The reader can assume that independent variables were reported in relation to school improvement unless noted otherwise. Thus, the following discussion focuses on the identification of school characteristics and combinations of characteristics that were repeatedly presumed to account for these positive results.

2. School or Program Leadership

In approximately one third of the case studies (n = 21), independent variables pertaining to school or program leadership were identified as important in determining school success, but no single leadership variable appeared in more than 16 cases (see Table 2). Worthy of atten-

Table 2
School or Program Leadership Variables Reported as Significant in Relation to Outcome Measures

	Frequency	Percent of total studies*
I. The school principal	16	27
A. Leadership style	16	27
1. Content emphasis	6	10
2. Process emphasis	13	22
B. Personal characteristics	2	3
C. Professional characteristics	2	3
D. Tenure in position	2	3
E. Attitudes/philosophy toward urban education and urban children	11	19
II. Principalship—the position	14	24
A. Quantitative adequacy of administrative staffing	3	5
B. Autonomy of decision making	7	12
C. Intraschool shared decision making	10	17
III. Nondesignated leadership	11	19
A. Teacher leaders	6	10
B. Outside leaders from within the school district	2	3
C. Community or parent leaders	5	8
D. Extradistrict leadership	2	3
E. Extraschool, intracommunity leadership	0	0

*Percents are rounded to nearest whole percent.

tion, however, is the finding that within the subgroup of studies that noted the significance of leadership, the specific variables were not considered equally important in determining school outcomes. The most frequently reported significant variable was the school principal's leadership style, i.e., expectations of students and staff and decision-making and problem-solving behavior (n = 16). A majority of the studies reporting on leadership also indicated that the principal's attitudes toward urban education and urban children were related to school effects (n = 11). In contrast, the studies offered no support for relationships between school outcomes and the quantitative adequacy of administrative staffing (n = 3) or the principal's tenure in position (n = 2), or professional characteristics (n = 2).

Ten cases documented a relationship between the existence of intraschool shared decision making and school effects, and 11 studies reported that nondesignated leadership was a significant variable. However, no particular role group (e.g., teachers or parents) was reported as occupying the nondesignated leadership positions.

These findings have implications for administrative preservice and inservice activities. The data suggest that preparation programs for administrators should emphasize the development of effective leadership style in addition to the acquisition of technical skills. Moreover, an expansion of administrative inservice efforts seems warranted by the finding that the principal's behavior and attitudes (which can be altered in contrast to personal and professional characteristics) were related to school success more frequently than were other leadership variables. The case study literature indicates that both pre- and inservice activities for urban administrators should attempt to nurture the belief that urban schools can succeed.

3. Professional and Paraprofessional Personnel

Eighty percent of the case studies reported that one or more of the variables pertaining to professional and paraprofessional personnel were related to school outcome measures (n = 47). Almost two-thirds of the studies reported that staff training was a significant factor (n = 36), particularly training activities directed toward curricular content/skills (n = 21, see Table 3). A specific source of training (i.e., teacher centers, universities, or intradistrict resource centers) was not documented as a significant factor. Thus, the case study literature suggests that regardless of how training activities are structured, the substance of such activities should focus on curricular objectives.

Within the personnel category, the use of supplementary staff was noted most frequently in relation to school success (n = 37). The specific types of supplementary staff considered significant were paraprofessionals (n = 25), intraschool specialized personnel (e.g., reading teachers) (n = 21), extraschool specialized personnel (n = 17), and regular classroom teachers (n = 16). While the direct reduction of class size by adding regular classroom teachers was considered important in roughly one-fourth of the studies, other strategies for reducing the pupil/adult ratio and providing instructional assistance (e.g., paraprofessionals and special reading teachers) were more frequently reported as related to school success (16 notations compared to 63).

A special emphasis in the use of teacher time (e.g., devoting more instructional time to one curricular area; altering the school day to allow additional planning time) was associated with school effects in 25 of the studies. In contrast, the personal or professional characteristics of personnel were not frequently documented as significant variables.

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Table 3
Professional and Paraprofessional Personnel Variables Reported as Significant in Relation to Outcome Measures

	Frequency	Percent of total studies*
I. Training	36	61
A. Target	34	58
1. Affective	12	20
2. Skills or content	21	36
3. Management	15	25
4. Specific innovation	14	24
B. Structure	9	15
1. Teacher center	5	8
2. University	6	10
3. Other intradistrict training or resource center	6	10
II. Supplementary staff	37	63
A. Paraprofessional	25	42
B. Intraschool consultant or specialized personnel (e.g., reading teachers)	21	36
C. Extraschool consultant or specialized personnel	17	29
D. Regular classroom teachers	16	27
III. Personnel organization	30	51
A. Personal characteristics	7	12
B. Professional characteristics	9	15
C. Special emphasis in use of teacher time	25	42

*Percents are rounded to nearest whole percent.

These findings have several implications for staff utilization and staff development in public schools. The data suggest that the addition of paraprofessional personnel in conjunction with specialized teachers/consultants may be more effective in addressing instructional needs than the reduction of class size per se by adding regular classroom teachers. The data also indicate that alternative configurations in the use of teacher time should be explored as part of school improvement strategies.

The case study literature offers strong support for an expansion of staff training programs, particularly targeted training activities in skill and content areas. The fact that staff training was consistently associated with school success, whereas the personal and professional characteristics of teachers were not, should be comforting to educational decision makers. In light of diminishing teacher turnover, many schools have limited opportunities to alter the composition (and therefore the characteristics) of teaching staffs. In contrast, control can be exerted over staff training programs, and the case data suggest that the changes in teacher behavior resulting from such inservice activities are related to school success.

4. Financial Allocations to the School

Over half of the studies (n = 34) documented that additional financial support was related to one or more outcome variables, but only four of these cases reported that intradistrict budgetary allocations were significant. Thus, the case study literature indicates that fiscal resources within a district continue to be allocated to schools primarily on the basis of uniform criteria in contrast to differential funding patterns (e.g., allocations based on a districtwide inventory of needs; supplementary funds awarded on a competitive basis for school improvement programs).

While intradistrict financial allocations were not considered significant, over 50% of the cases reported that extradistrict budgetary allocations for special projects were associated with positive school outcomes. The significance of external funding was noted most often in conjunction with personnel interventions, specifically staff training programs and the use of supplementary personnel. It can be inferred that without external financial assistance, schools would be somewhat constrained in implementing these more costly intervention strategies.

Although additional financial allocations from sources outside the school district were related to school success in a majority of the case studies, it cannot be assumed that an influx of external funds is a prerequisite to improving urban schools. Nonetheless, educational policymakers should be cognizant of the evidence substantiating a relationship between externally funded special projects or support services and school success.

5. Curriculum and Instruction

Variables pertaining to curriculum and instruction were reported as significant in determining school outcome measures in 51 of the 59 case studies. Approximately 60% of the studies (n = 35) reported that the existence of a specific curricular emphasis was related to school success (see Table 4). The major content emphases were reading (n = 25) and mathematics (n = 16), with only seven studies noting any other content emphasis as significant. More than a third of the studies (n = 21) documented that an emphasis on school objectives was related to positive outcomes, and all but one of these cases noted student achievement objectives as a major focus. Over 10 studies also documented the significance of objectives pertaining to student self-concept (n = 14) and school pride (n = 12).

Table 4
Curriculum and Instruction Variables Reported as Significant in Relation to Outcome Measures

	Frequency	Percent of total studies*
I. Emphases	35	59
A. Content	34	58
1. Reading	25	42
2. Math	16	27
3. Other	7	12
B. Objectives	21	36
1. Achievement	20	34
2. School pride	12	20
3. Self-concept	14	24
II. Structure	21	36
A. Graded, self-contained	3	5
B. Open	3	5
C. Nongraded	3	5
D. Fundamental	1	2
E. Other	13	22
III. Processes	39	66
A. Individualized instruction	25	42
B. Behavior modification	9	15
C. Mastery learning	9	15
D. Programmed instruction	6	10
E. Grouping/tracking	9	15
F. Other	29	49

*Percents are rounded to nearest whole percent.

Approximately one-third of the studies (n = 21) reported that the curricular organizational structure was a significant variable. However, no single organizational pattern (e.g., graded, nongraded, open, fundamental) was documented as significant in more than three studies. Hence, the case study literature does not substantiate that any particular type of formal organization is related to school success. The checklist responses pertaining to organizational structure were clustered in the category designated "other" (n = 13), with only the use of reading skills centers being specified in this category more than twice (n = 5). From an analysis of the total responses, it would appear that while no specific type of organization for instruction is associated with school success, the provision of a structured learning environment is important.

Instructional processes were related to outcome variables in 39 cases. The specific process most frequently documented as a significant variable was individualized instruction (n = 25). Noted as significant in less than 10 cases were behavior modification (n = 9), mastery learning (n = 9), grouping/tracking (n = 9), and programmed instruction (n = 6). Of processes specified in the "other" category on the checklist (n = 29), only reduced pupil/teacher ratio was reported in more than three studies (n = 4). A compilation of all responses pertaining to significant instructional processes (n = 87, with many cases describing more than one process), results in an interesting configuration. Most of the responses entail some type of an attempt to individualize instruction and employ diagnostic-prescriptive teaching techniques.

Based on a composite of all curriculum/instruction items, there is strong support for the generalization that a curricular emphasis on the teaching of basic skills is likely to improve student achievement. This curricular focus is characterized by extended instructional time devoted to basic skills, a structured learning environment (but no particular type of formal organization) and individualized, diagnostic-prescriptive instruction (but no specific program or strategy, e.g., language experience approach, programmed instruction). Since school effects are often measured in terms of reading and math scores on standardized tests, it is not surprising that a focused effort in these areas is associated with positive school outcomes. It is extremely surprising, however, that more schools have not capitalized on this notion, given that poor student achievement in basic skills continues to be the central problem in urban schools.

6. Resources and Facilities

In 24 studies, variables pertaining to resources and facilities were described in relation to school success. Instructional hardware was documented as significant in 13 cases, but no particular type of hardware (e.g., audio-visual equipment, computer-assisted instruction) was noted in more than two cases (see Table 5). Instructional software (e.g., library books) was considered significant in 17 studies. Only four cases reported that the physical plant was related to school outcomes. Thus, the case study literature does not lend support to the premise that the school building itself is an important factor in determining school success. Also, community resources were not often reported as significant (n = 2), indicating that the "school without walls" concept did not characterize these case studies of successful schools.

None of the cases described resources and facilities as the sole independent variable; in fact, all but one case reported on this variable in conjunction with curriculum and instruction variables. In 21 of the cases, resources and facilities were reported in combination with a curricular content emphasis. Thus, resources and facilities may have been considered significant in terms of implementing curricular interventions

Table 5
Resource and/or Facility Variables Reported as Significant in Relation to Outcome Measures

	Frequency	Percent of total studies*
Type of resources and facilities	24	41
I. Instructional hardware	13	22
A. Television	1	2
B. Computer-assisted instruction	2	3
C. Other	6	10
II. Instructional software	17	29
III. Physical plant	4	7
IV. Community resources	2	3

*Percents are rounded to the nearest whole percent.

rather than as the focus of the interventions. The case study data indicate that resource and facility variables are likely to sustain a relationship with outcome measures only when they appear in conjunction with other independent variables.

7. Community Interactions

About half of these studies (n = 29) reported that community interaction variables were related to one or more school outcome measures. Eighteen studies reported that the frequency of contacts between parents and school was a significant variable, and 22 reported that policies/programs facilitating general school-community contacts were significant (See Table 6). Thus, the case studies lend some support to the generalization that successful schools are characterized by a high level of community contact.

More than a fourth of the studies noted the significance of parental involvement in school decision making and the establishment of school outreach programs designed to increase community/parent awareness of and involvement in school activities. In contrast, community use of school facilities appeared as a significant variable in only eight studies. The data, therefore, indicate that school-community contacts considered significant were those focusing on the school's primary mission of educating children rather than those addressing broader community needs.

8. Comparison of Cases of Different Research Quality

In addition to analyzing relationships among variables across all 59 cases, the studies were subdivided according to research quality criteria

Table 6
Community Interaction Variables Reported as Significant in Relation to Outcome Measures

	Frequency	Percent of total studies*
I. Frequency of contact between school and parents	18	31
II. Types of school-community contacts	22	37
A. Policies/programs encouraging or facilitating general contacts	22	37
B. Policies/procedures for involvement of parents in decision making	15	25
C. Programs of parent instruction and training	12	20
D. School outreach programs	15	25
E. Community use of school facilities	8	14

*Percents are rounded to nearest whole percent.

in order to ascertain if methodological rigor was related to the findings reported. Cases were sorted into two groups based on differences in data gathering and analytic techniques in the treatment of independent and dependent variables (checklist items 12 through 22). Cases were considered to be of higher research quality if:

1. Independent variables were specified and distinguished from outcome measures and from related variables that might have accounted for differences in outcome measures
2. Independent variables were expressed in operational terms and observed or measured systematically
3. Outcome measures were specified in operational terms and observed or measured systematically
4. Analytic techniques were specified and consistent with the gathering tools employed and with the variables considered

Twenty-three case studies satisfied all of these criteria. The remaining 36 cases were classified as exhibiting evidence of lower research quality. There were no major differences between the two subpopulations in terms of the nature of dependent variables investigated or the relationships between specific independent variables and outcome measures. Of interest, however, were the differences among the higher- and lower-quality cases regarding the nature of the independent variables described as significant. All but one of the higher-quality cases (96%) reported that professional/paraprofessional personnel and curriculum/instruction variables were significant in relation to school success. In contrast, only 69% of the lower-quality cases reported on personnel variables, and 81% noted curriculum and instruction variables as significant in determining school effects.

For specific variables within these categories, there were also marked differences between the two subpopulations. For example, one-fourth of the lower-quality cases noted the significance of a concentration on reading instruction, while approximately two-thirds of the higher-quality cases reported the importance of such a focus. Less than a third of the lower-quality cases documented that a special emphasis in the use of teacher time was significant, while nearly two-thirds of the higher-quality cases noted the importance of this variable. Over 20% more higher-quality cases also reported the significance of staff training targeted in skill or content areas; the use of paraprofessionals and intradistrict supplementary personnel; and special emphases on mathematics instruction, achievement objectives, and instructional processes (See Table 7). Overall, there was greater discrimination among independent variables in the higher-quality cases (frequencies ranged from 4% to 83%) than in the lower-quality cases (frequencies ranged from 16% to 58%).

Assuming that one can place more confidence in the findings of the higher-quality studies, strong support is provided for relationships between selected independent variables and positive school outcomes. In fact, the variables that emerged most frequently in relation to school success across all studies were accentuated when analyzing only the higher-quality cases.

Summary

The fact that urban elementary schools can be successful was documented in the 59 cases analyzed in this study. In attempting to delineate the common features of these maverick schools, their characteristics were analyzed from several perspectives within and across categories of variables.

Almost all of the cases involved multiple school interventions, i.e., the simultaneous manipulation of several school variables. Among studies, however, certain variables were manipulated more often than others. Each of the following features emerged in at least one-third of the case studies as significant in determining positive school effects:

1. A curricular content emphasis in reading
2. An emphasis on student achievement objectives
3. Individualization of instruction
4. The use of paraprofessionals and intraschool specialized personnel
5. Staff training targeted in skill and content areas
6. A special emphasis in the use of teacher time
7. External funding for curricular interventions and support services
8. Policies and programs facilitating contacts between parents/community and the school

Table 7
Selected Independent Variables Reported as Significant by Higher- and Lower- Quality Cases

Variables	Percent of Lower-Quality Studies*	Percent of Higher-Quality Studies**
I. Leadership style	28	26
II. Staff training	53	74
A. Training: skill or content areas	28	48
B. Training: specific innovation	28	26
III. Supplementary Staff	53	78
A. Paraprofessionals	33	57
B. Intradistrict supplementary staff	22	57
C. Extradistrict supplementary staff	22	39
D. Regular classroom teachers	19	39
IV. Special emphasis in use of teacher time	31	61
V. Extradistrict financial allocations	50	56
VI. Curricular content emphases	58	70
A. Reading emphasis	25	65
B. Math emphasis	16	39
C. Other content emphasis	16	4
VII. Emphasis on achievement objectives	25	50
VIII. Organizational structure	39	34
IX. Instructional processes	56	83
A. Individualized instruction	39	48
X. Types of resources/facilities	50	35
XI. Frequency of community contacts	33	26
XII. Nature of community contacts	38	35

*Percent of lower-quality studies reporting a relationship between variable and outcome measures (n = 36)

**Percent of higher-quality studies reporting a relationship between variable and outcome measures (n = 23)

Certain combinations of these variables appeared in the case studies with some regularity. For example, a curricular content emphasis in basic skill areas usually appeared in conjunction with the use of supplementary staff, targeted staff training, individualization of instruction, and a special emphasis on the use of teacher time. Perhaps the designation of a curricular focus served as an "umbrella" variable, providing the impetus for the manipulation of other school features in order to translate the curricular emphasis into practice.

Another consistent configuration was the appearance of external funding as a significant variable in conjunction with the use of supplementary personnel and staff training. Obviously, the addition of staff and the provision of comprehensive training programs are more costly than interventions involving changes in instructional emphases or strategies. The case study data suggest that some type of external funding may be necessary in order to implement these more expensive school improvement strategies.

Since most of the variables noted as significant across studies involved some type of curriculum/instruction or personnel interventions, categories of variables warrant additional comment. From the composite responses to curriculum/instruction and personnel items on the checklist, the following observations seem to depict accurately those characteristics related to school success in the case studies:

1. A reduced pupil/adult ratio was achieved by adding paraprofessionals to work with students in small groups and special reading teachers to offer remedial instruction.
2. Specialized/consulting personnel also provided technical assistance to teachers in addressing the basic skill content emphasis.
3. Staff training activities were targeted toward curricular objectives.
4. A basic skill content emphasis was characterized by clearly defined objectives, extended instructional time-on-task, individualized and diagnostic-prescriptive teaching strategies, and close monitoring of pupil progress.

Conclusions

Urban school success cannot be guaranteed by the mere existence of the school characteristics identified as signficant in these 59 case studies. Nonetheless, the repeated association of certain school attributes with positive school outcomes should be of interest to educational policymakers. At the very least, decision makers should be aware of these success-linked variables and use this knowledge in establishing priorities and allocating resources.

None of the interventions described in the case studies entailed the manipulation of school input variables, i.e., student characteristics; rather, they focused on altering school features that could be changed without great difficulty. Hence, the case study literature refutes the contention that determinants of school success or failure are beyond the control of the school. In fact, the data suggest that most features related to school success can be manipulated at the building level (e.g., teacher behavior in contrast to personal characteristics; curricular emphases in contrast to school facilities). The only notable exception is the addition of supplementary personnel that would usually necessitate budgetary decisions made at the school district level.

Given the assumption that urban elementary schools can be improved, what are the implications of these aggregated data for effecting change? The predominant message is that the marshalling of resources (e.g., time, personnel, funds, staff training, instructional strategies) toward a clearly defined curricular focus is related to school success. This concentration of efforts seemed to be a common thread linking the school variables most frequently associated with positive school outcomes across the cases. As logic would dictate, these targeted efforts were generally directed toward the central problem facing urban schools, i.e., improving student achievement in reading and mathematics. Hence, the case study literature suggests that schools can be improved by focusing available energies and resources on student achievement in basic skills instead of expending such energies and resources over a wide spectrum of activities.

Although the successful interventions described in the case studies were targeted on well-defined, narrow goals, they involved multiple tactics to attain the goals. Usually, several curriculum/instruction and personnel variables were manipulated in concert. For example, the use of paraprofessionals and other supplementary personnel was accompanied by staff training focused on the curricular objectives and new instructional configurations (e.g., extended time devoted to basic skills and diagnostic-prescriptive teaching).

Such multiple change strategies necessitate effective planning and coordination. While specific leadership variables were not frequently noted as significant in the case studies, a strong inference can be made that a designated leader, i.e., the school principal or project coordinator, must assume these planning/coordination functions in order for school improvement to occur.

Recommendations for Further Study

By design, this analysis of case studies focused on describing common characteristics among "successful" schools. This approach appeared to be a logical first step in identifying factors that are related to exceptionality in urban elementary education. Since the available case literature pertaining to successful urban elementary schools has been comprehensively reviewed, it seems unlikely that future replication of this approach would produce notably different findings. However, the relationship between specific school attributes and school effects does warrant further investigation, perhaps using other approaches.

1. *Studies focusing on selected combinations/interactions of school variables.* The fact that certain features were observed in successful schools does not explain the significance of various combinations or interactions among these factors. Perhaps there is a hierarchy as to the importance of these attributes, or possibly certain combinations of characteristics account for most of the variance in school outcomes. By tracing selected patterns of school characteristics in relation to school ef-

fects, some features may emerge as essential to success while others may be important only when combined in specific configurations. Such an investigation might also provide insight as to whether successful intervention tactics are linked in a sequential pattern, i.e., certain changes may need to occur before other intervention strategies can be effectively implemented.

2. *Longitudinal studies.* Only partial understanding of the evolution of school success can be gleaned from studies that document the impact of short-term interventions at a particular point in time. Studies of school characteristics and incidents over time are necessary in order to understand how exceptionality is developed and nurtured. Such longitudinal studies might result in the identification of a series of critical incidents that are related to positive school effects.

The above approaches are but two that possibly would extend our present knowledge of exceptionality in urban education. Additional strategies should be developed to examine the complex phenomena occurring in urban schools in order to increase our understanding of *why* some schools are successful and *how* these success stories might be replicated.

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3. An Analysis of Research, Development, and Evaluation Reports on Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools

by

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Researchers in education have been intrigued for 50 years with the possibility of isolating input variables that affect school or educational program outcomes. Much more recently they have risen to the bait offered by the *Coleman Report* (1966), which asserted (contradicting much experiential evidence) that input variables, other than the ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics of the student body, had little or no effect on school outcomes. To this disturbing conclusion was added evidence that some schools and programs, which would have been predicted to be low on outcome measures on the basis of student characteristics, were, in fact, "mavericks" or exceptional producers. This anomaly raised the hope that one might be able to track down characteristics of these exceptional performers to guide policy makers, change agents, or practitioners concerned with improving urban schools.

In pursuit of this goal, the current study reviewed the recent research and evaluation literature on exceptional performance in urban elementary schools and programs and aggregated those findings in an effort to document why some urban schools succeed.

Literature Search

Technical details on the literature search of research and evaluation studies were described in the first chapter of this report. As noted in Table 1, there were 515 research reports that were initial nominees for inclusion in the study. Forty reports were finally retained for analysis and aggregation. This was actually a relatively high percentage of the directly relevant Rand D reports since, as reported in Table 1, there were only 38 studies identified in which urban elementary schools were the primary sampling unit. In the bulk of the studies (349), there was an independent variable of interest to this inquiry, but the focus of the study was not on urban education. Obviously, few of those reports were retained.

Every effort was made to retain all 38 of the reports of research on urban elementary schools. These reports were eliminated only if the study failed to include at least one of the independent variables and one of the dependent variables specified in this inquiry, or if it did not employ some systematic inquiry technique. Even these "soft" criteria were too rigorous for all but 16 of these reports.

The category sampled was the "Urban Elementary Programs" group (128 studies). First, these studies were subjected to the minimal qualitative criteria noted above. The remaining studies, especially the evaluations of federal compensatory education, included multiple studies of the same phenomenon. An effort was made to reduce such redundancy by choosing the higher quality, more comprehensive evaluations to represent a compensatory program. Admittedly, there still remains a bias, which is characteristic of the literature, and this is carried over to the sample used in this study. Schools, programs, and projects supported by federal and state dollars appear more frequently in the literature than one would guess, because these externally funded efforts often require evaluation reports or final reports and thus they are more visible.

Two final notations on the literature search: 1) A few studies that should have been included were not because they could not be located. Every effort, even direct contacts with the researchers, failed to unearth some studies. 2) Four reports were included that were not based upon empirical studies using primary data but were rather data aggregation efforts. They were included because they had already accomplished, at a point in time, an analysis of a segment of the literature to which this study aspired, e.g., Title I (McLaughlin, 1977) or school effects (Averch, Carroll, Donaldson, Kiesling, and Pincus, 1972).

Literature Description

The research and evaluation literature identified as germane to this study of exceptional urban elementary schools can be better understood if it is categorized into subgroups. There were three clusters of studies that had similar purposes and frequently employed similar research and analysis techniques.

1. *Search for successful schools* (SSS). Several researchers have attempted to identify urban elementary schools in which student performance measures were well above the national average on standardized test instruments. These inquirers usually visited the schools to accumulate descriptive data about the schools that might explain the exceptionality. These data rely frequently on qualitative analytic techniques and are sometimes reported in case study style.[1]

2. *Compensatory education programs* (CEP). A large number of evaluation studies of compensatory education programs designed to improve achievement in urban schools have been conducted. The nature of the schools studied varied from the entire population of schools receiving compensatory assistance to subsets of successful CEPs. In both instances, the measure of success employed tended to be student achievement on standardized tests in basic skill areas. These inquirers frequently employed normative survey techniques supplemented by site visits to either document the success or failure of the compensatory program intervention or to describe characteristics of successful interventions, or both. The analytic techniques employed tended to be quantitative comparisons of student achievement on a pre/post-test basis or comparisons

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[1] The data were not included in the case study aggregation project because they involved schools from several districts, often a state or national sample.

with schools not receiving compensatory interventions.

3. *School effects* (SE). This broad body of literature designed to document the effects, if any, of schools and schooling, and the specific effects of various input variables in schools, generated a subset of studies of direct concern to exceptionality in urban schools. A number of these inquirers focused on the policy issues involved in supporting interventions designed to produce effects in core city settings. These researchers typically defined exceptionality as student mean performance on standardized tests. Data on school variables were obtained usually from secondary reports or normative surveys. Regression analysis has been employed frequently in this cluster of studies to isolate the effects of variables, singly or in combination.

The final set of 40 studies[2] retained for analysis in this investigation was distributed across these three clusters as follows: 1) Search for successful schools (SSS) (9), 2) Compensatory education programs (CEP) (21), and 3) School effects (SE) (10).[3] The reader will note in subsequent sections that the clusters concentrated on different independent variables and, in some instances, produced disparate results.

Methods Employed

Each of the 40 studies was read and content-analyzed using three broad rubrics.

1. *Findings*. Direct evidence presented by the researcher on the independent variables, the dependent variables, or the relationship between the two in the study being reported, e.g., "... only 27 of the groups (19%) performed up to national standard on one or more of the three subtests shown...." (Anderson, 1977, p. 212).

2. *Conclusions*. Statements of summation, interpretation, and/or inference drawn from the data by the inquirer, e.g., "Whatever Follow Through did for the children it served, by and large it did *not* bring them up to the national average" (Anderson, 1977, p. 212). Or, "It is difficult to implement change in functioning institutions by means of outside intervention" (Anderson, 1977, p. 217).

3. *Recommendations*. Suggestions offered by the researcher to other researchers, policy makers, or practitioners, frequently but not always justified on the basis of the previously stated findings and conclusions, e.g., "If future evaluations of externally guided compensatory interventions wish to be able to attribute outcomes more confidently to the specific kinds of intervention applied, they will have to take steps to find out systematically what local people did with the models and program resources" (Anderson, 1977, p. 225).

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[2] One report (New York State Education Department, March 1976) was included in two categories because it employed both SSS and SE inquiry strategies.

[3] The reports used are listed by category in the references at the conclusion of this chapter.

With these data in hand for each report, the author searched each study employing the independent variables in the checklist developed for the case study aggregation (See Appendix B, Note 1). So, for example, in the case of the school principal, each study was examined for asserted relationships between "personal characteristics" and any outcome measure. In that particular instance, only one of the 40 studies specifically mentioned the variable (Weber, 1971), and then it was only to note that the characteristic was unrelated to outcome measures. That variable was dropped from further consideration. When the independent variable was mentioned, the recorder transferred the data from the original recording sheets to a column of cells created for the variable and rated the strength of the relationship on a five-point scale from positive-influential to negative-influential. The Weber notation above, for example, was rated 3 and was noted as referring to ethnic background of principals.

The data were analyzed on the basis of the strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. These analyses will be reflected in the reporting of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the studies. The assumption was made that the inquirers exercised sound judgment as they chose from among their findings to note or infer conclusions and to frame recommendations.

The remaining sections of this report will be organized around the independent variables investigated in the study. Data from the 40 Rand D reports will be presented initially, and then the author will state generalizations and observations based on those data. An effort will be made to signal clearly to the reader when the author is simply reporting the data from the studies reviewed and when he is interpreting those data.

1. School and Program Leadership

Three groups of leader and leadership variables were examined:

1. The School Principal
   a. Leadership behavior or style
   b. Personal and professional characteristics
   c. Attitude
2. The Principalship
   a. Adequacy of administrative staffing
   b. Shared decision making within the school
3. Other School or Program Leaders

The School Principal

Roughly one-third of the studies (13) reported directly on this cluster of variables. Ten studies reported positive relationships between the leadership behavior or style of the principal and school outcomes. Three of the nine SSS reports and seven of the 21 CEP studies noted such associations and reported, for example:

> In five unusually effective compensatory reading programs, the following was noted as one common element, " . . . a key person who provided guidance and direction in reading (in three of the five it was the principal). . . ." (Educational Testing Service, 1976, p. 5).
>
> Gains in math achievement were more likely to occur in schools where:
> 1. Administrators emphasized the importance of selecting basic instructional materials.
> 2. Administrators assumed more responsibility for the selection of basic instructional materials.
> 3. Administrators effectively communicated a point of view concerning teaching practices (Wellisch, Marcus, MacQueen, and Duck, July, 1976, p. III-20).

The SE studies seldom gathered information regarding leadership, but in one instance where it was gathered by teacher ratings of instructional leadership, it was noted as being more characteristic of higher achieving schools (California State Department of Education, 1977). More convincing from the point of view of the SE literature, the report by Averch, et al., 1972, concluded after aggregating eight case studies in eight cities that:

> "Rigidities in a school system can be partly overcome by an appropriate choice of principals" (97). This statement is supported by reference to Havighurst (1964, p. 173) who reported that, "In every type of school certain qualities in the principal appear to be essential to making the school operate effectively. In the inner-city and common-man types, the principal seems to make almost the whole difference between a school that holds teachers and gets a fair amount of teaching done on the one hand, and a school where teachers and pupils are demoralized on the other hand." And Gross and Herriott (1965, p. 151), "The findings, in short, offer empirical support for a leadership conception of the principal's role, and they undermine a major argument for abandoning it."

In contrast to the emphasis on leadership behavior or style, the 40 studies infrequently mentioned the categories of personal and professional characteristics. They were noted in only three studies; and in two of the three, they were not significant. Three of the SSS studies did note that positive attitudes on the part of the building administrator toward urban schools or school children were associated with successful schools. This may be an extension of the research on teacher expectations and classroom achievement; perhaps there is a similar phenomenon operating at the organizational level.

The Principalship

No data emerged from these studies that would indicate a relationship between patterns or adequacy of administrative staffing and successful urban schools. Decision-making processes were noted only once in the 40 studies and staffing adequacy at the building level only twice.

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Other School or Program Leaders

The only variables in this category that appeared in more than one study were 1) the "program leader," i.e., a key person assuming program leadership other than the school principal (noted in three studies), and 2) district-level administrators providing school or program support (noted twice). The evidence accumulated in these studies about leadership concentrated on designated leadership positions. There were no citations of the emergence of nondesignated leaders as being influential in these schools.

Conclusions

At least one generalization seems defensible: *Elementary school principals and other designated program leaders are influential in determining success in urban elementary schools and programs.*

The studies offered some clues as to why this relationship might exist; they were the administrator's:

1. Effect upon the school climate, e.g., providing a sense of purpose or order or holding higher expectations for student performance (Weber, 1971; Brookover and Lezotte, 1977; Wellisch, et al., 1976).
2. Efforts to provide direct instructional assistance or support to classroom teachers (Brookover and Lezotte, 1977; Educational Testing Service, 1976).
3. Initiation of programs or projects to ameliorate the school's problems (Brown and Dixon, 1976).

An even simpler explanation might be the principal's contribution to sound project planning and management, since so many of the successful schools and programs in urban districts studied over the past decade have been operating such special projects.

The previously mentioned generalization is unsurprising and, to some extent, comforting to policy and decision makers. It means that a manipulable factor exists that may well have a positive effect on schools and programs in urban elementary settings. Entire school staffs are more difficult to change or upgrade than school or program leaders. It is also probably true that some situations are so difficult that a change in leadership will have little impact; but in many circumstances it should make a difference.

2. Teachers, Specialists, and Paraprofessionals

Three professional personnel variables were tracked in terms of their relationship to exceptional urban elementary schools:

1. Staff development and training programs
2. Additional teaching/specialist/support personnel
   a. Paraprofessional personnel
   b. Intraschool consultant personnel
   c. Extraschool specialists
   d. More classroom teachers resulting in smaller class size
3. Teacher characteristics
   a. Professional
   b. Personal

Staff Development and Training Programs

Both the SSS and the CEP literatures were strongly supportive of staff development interventions as characteristic of successful schools and programs. Ten studies cited this variable as associated with exceptional outcomes. The SE studies typically had no data regarding staff development programs. The SSS studies simply noted that many exceptional schools made provisions for staff development. The CEP literature added the observation that staff development programs appeared to have the greatest impact if they were focused on project or program goals, materials, and processes. Three studies (Trisman and Waller, 1975; Educational Testing Service, 1976; and Gordon and Koutrelakos, 1971) mentioned a condition associated with staff development as worthy of attention, i.e., time for planning, interchange, and cross-fertilization of ideas among professional staff members.

Additional Teaching/Specialist/Support Personnel

These 40 studies lend credence to the proposition that altering class size seems to have little relationship to school or program success; but providing more adults to work with children, thus altering the adult-pupil ratio, is characteristic of successful schools. Five of these studies investigated class size directly and the results, predictable from other research on class size were: slight negative effect (1); no effect (2); slight positive effect (1); and strong positive effect (1). The explanation for this ambiguity was offered in the Glass and Smith report on class size studies. They noted that the major benefits from class size reduction occurs as class size drops below 20 pupils per class. This was uncharacteristic of these studies where the variance in class size across schools was small and where there were almost always more than 20 pupils per class.

In contrast with the ambiguous results produced by the class size analyses, the results obtained by adding adults in the form of reading specialists, teacher aides, and other classroom support personnel were reported as generally positive: negative effects (0); no effect (3); slight positive effect (4); strong positive effect (6).

Some flavor of the positive results produced by adding personnel is provided by the following three excerpts from studies:

> Of particular importance is the finding that when there are fewer students per adult, the classroom gain is greater and the absence rate is lower (Stallings, Cory, Fairweather, and Needels, 1977, p. 57).
>
> There is strong support for the emphasis on intensifying the human resource component at the classroom level (Alberta Evaluation Research Associates, Ltd., 1968, p. 51).
>
> . . . a pupil-teacher ratio of between 6:1 and 10:1 was associated with success (Hawkridge and Tallmadge, 1968, p. 15).

Teacher Characteristics

Thirteen of the 40 studies reviewed in this project concentrated on an analysis of the personal and professional demographic characteristics of teachers in urban schools, i.e., years of experience, percent with tenure, percent with graduate training, etc. The results are uninteresting. They lead only to such obvious conclusions as, all other things being equal, one should staff urban elementary schools with the best trained, most experienced teachers one can find, pay, and retain.

Conclusions

At least two generalizations can be drawn from this population of studies about relationships between professional staff and unusual success in urban elementary schools: *Staff development and training programs are associated with successful urban elementary schools and programs, and increasing the ratio of adults to children in urban elementary schools is associated with educational program and school success.*

There are strong clues, if not compelling evidence, to support some additional observations about the cluster of professional personnel variables:

1. The success of staff development and training programs is influenced by the specificity and focus of the program. The most successful efforts are those targeted to program or project goals and processes.

2. Teachers in successful schools and programs seem to have more opportunity for interchange of ideas and more time for joint planning.

3. Curriculum and Instruction

Three curricular variables were examined as possible factors that could distinguish between successful and less successful urban elementary schools:

1. Curricular Objectives

   Emphasis on curricular goals, e.g., achievement in content areas, improvement in student self-concept or student attitude toward school.

2. Instructional process

   Individualization of instruction, mastery learning, grouping or tracking, etc.

3. Organization of instruction

   Graded, self-contained, ungraded, open, etc.

Curricular Objectives

As noted earlier, most of the 40 studies relied on achievement test scores (either gains during an intervention period or normative contrasts with other schools) as the method of identifying successful schools. In this study the strongest relationship is shown to exist between curricular goals emphasizing achievement in basic skill subjects and successful urban elementary schools.

One might well ask whether such a relationship is simply a tautology, i.e., emphasis on achievement in basic skills for elementary school children results in improved performance in these areas by children. It is not a tautology; it is interesting; it is of considerable importance to urban education planners. The finding is of significance precisely because a failure to produce competence in basic skills is the central charge directed at urban schools. There is compelling evidence that *some* urban elementary schools avoid this predicted failure. In these schools, there is no more dominant characteristic than an emphasis on teaching basic skills, especially reading and mathematics. Although there may be a wide range of other objectives for urban schools, most administrators, teachers, and parents concerned with urban education would embrace improvement in basic skills as a priority for every urban school.

Half of the SSS and CEP studies cited a direct emphasis on basic skills achievement as related to successful schools. Findings from four of these studies provide a feel for the results:

> "The improving schools are clearly different from the declining schools in the emphasis their staff places on the accomplishment of the basic reading and mathematics objectives" (Brookover and Lezotte, 1977, p. 79). "...with the greater emphasis on reading and math objectives in the improving schools, the staffs in these schools devote a much greater amount of time toward achieving reading and math objectives" (p. 80). " . . . educational leaders should reduce the emphasis on differentiating between students and increase the emphasis on the mastery of basic skills by all students" (p. 83).
>
> Even the discouraging evaluation of Follow Through reported by Anderson, 1977, noted that, "Models that emphasize basic skills outperformed other models in helping children gain these skills" (p. 221). Perhaps even more dramatically, "More models that did not put their primary emphasis on the basic skills produced children with lower scores on tests of those skills than one would have expected without FT" (p. 221).
>
> The 1976 ETS Compensatory Reading study analysis of five unusually effective programs noted, " . . . all had defined reading as an important instructional goal, had assigned it priority among the school's activities and had manifested this commitment by spending more time on reading or on having better quality of reading resources ...." (p. 5).
>
> Donald McLaughlin's 1977 synthesis of the findings of federal studies of Title I noted, "There is nearly unanimous agreement that 'directly relevant' instruction that attends to basic skills is crucial to achieve impact" (p. 66).

Instructional Process

The only instructional process emphasis reported frequently in the 40 studies as associated with successful urban schools was individualized instruction. Nine studies reported on some form of individualized instruction; seven noted a positive relationship with successful schools. What constitutes individualized instruction is often ambiguous from study to study, ranging from what seemed to be a comment on school climate, e.g., sensitivity to individual students, to a specific program approach, e.g., Individually Guided Education. Confidence in the conclusions about individualization across studies is shaken by the conflict between Weber, 1971, and Ellis, 1975. In the former study, individualization was identified as one of eight factors contributing to reading achievement in four successful urban schools. When the Educational Research Corporation attempted to verify Weber's results in 20 Massachusetts schools, both successful and unsuccessful schools were rated low in individualization of instruction. Such directly conflicting results might be explained by unique features of the two studies but the ERC results do raise questions about the confidence one would place in the necessity of individualization as a characteristic of successful urban schools.

Two factors were noted in the research reports that were not specified by this study as *a priori* variables for investigation: 1) evaluation, and 2) structure in teaching and program design. Four studies cited the importance of either specific evaluation of individual pupil progress or program achievements or both; eight studies noted the relationship between directive teaching methods, or prescriptive, structured programs and pupil and program success.

Organization of Instruction

These 40 studies demonstrated no relationship between different curricular structures and school outcome measures.

Conclusions

One generalization stands out: *Successful urban elementary schools and programs are characterized by clearly stated curricular goals or objectives and a program emphasis on achievement in the basic skills, especially reading and mathematics.*

Beyond this generalization, it seems likely that more prescriptive instructional programs and structured teaching approaches are associated with student achievement gains. Rigorous individual student and program evaluation is probably characteristic of more successful programs.

The data on curriculum and instruction variables would seem to argue that those urban elementary schools that concentrated their energies and resources on basic skills competency chose the wisest route to success. The alternative hypothesis, of course, is that they simply chose to emphasize what researchers and evaluators defined as "success."

4. School District/School Expenditures

The conventional wisdom pre-1960 in regard to school expenditures was rooted in the cost-quality studies initiated by Paul Mort and his students in the 1930s (Ross, 1958). These studies noted consistently that better schools, defined by various measures of quality, were located in school districts with higher per-pupil expenditures. More recent thinking is reflected in the summation of more recent research by Averch et al., 1972: "Increasing expenditures on traditional educational practices is not likely to improve educational outcomes substantially;

and there seem to be opportunities for significant redirections and in some cases reductions in educational expenditures without deterioration in educational outcomes" (pp. XII and XIII).

More recent research about school expenditures is critical of the failure of the cost-quality studies to control for socioeconomic differences across communities, thereby associating "better schools" with high socioeconomic school districts in which school costs would obviously be higher. The *Coleman Report* sounded the death knell for the earlier cost-quality studies and raised the troublesome possibility that schools made no difference in the educational attainment of students, or at least, a difference so small as to be undiscernible by standard methods of educational measurement. School effects studies that gathered data on teachers' experience and degree levels plus class size substantiated Coleman's findings that these factors seemed unrelated to student outcomes. Teachers' experience and degree levels are linked to salary schedules (a major cost item in every school budget) and efforts to modify class size are always expensive. These three variables account for much of the variance in expenditures among school districts and, as noted, little of the variance in outcomes.

The review of 40 research studies undertaken in this project affirmed the minimal attention now being paid by researchers to gross expenditures, e.g., per pupil costs, as an independent variable affecting school outcomes. Most of the studies ignored the variable altogether. A few, especially the SE projects, examined expenditures at the district level by budget categories, e.g., instructional resources or teachers' salaries. Almost none had data on differential levels of expenditure at the school building level or data analyzing project expenditures by school or program in the case of externally funded projects. An accurate summary of these research studies would have to conclude that there is no evidence that school district or school or project expenditures are related to school outcome measures.

However, such a conclusion is unsatisfactory; it contravenes the experience of practitioners in education and other social process fields; it is inconsistent with the "feel" of the research results in this area of study; it is of the genre of conclusions that cause the observer to attribute the finding to inadequate or incomplete data. Consequently, this author decided to search intentionally for clues that might confirm whether expenditures were being obfuscated by incomplete information and inadequate search techniques. That search led to the following observations, which are derived clearly from a different mode of data treatment than has been employed in previous sections of this report.

Any direct relationship between expenditures and quality will be difficult to discern because a major portion of the variance across districts and schools is tied to salary schedules and class size. As Averch et al. have convincingly argued, these traditional school expenditures have been demonstrated to have little relation to school outcomes. The effect of differences in other school expenditure categories, then, has to be tracked separately after most of the variance has been charged off to the traditional budgetary expenditures. However, the contention by Averch et al. that the lack of relationship between expenditures and outcomes opens the door for significant redirection of or reduction in expenditures seems unrealistic. These traditional expenditures are at the heart of the financial structure of the public schools and altering them assumes a redistribution of political power in the public schools away from teachers' unions. Such a redistribution is highly unlikely.

Previous sections in this paper have noted that school outcomes are affected by some deliberate actions by school districts, e.g., staff development and training programs, reduced child-adult ratio, targeted programs emphasizing basic skills, etc. These actions do cost money but the cost is dwarfed in most instances by traditional expenditures.

Although the assessment of effects of compensatory programs nationwide varies from evaluation to evaluation, two facts seem clear: 1) among compensatory programs there is a subpopulation of projects achieving remarkably good results; and 2) when school districts are asked to identify successful schools or programs, they significantly overrepresent those schools in which compensatory programs and exemplary federal programs are housed. Despite the ambiguity in supporting the critical mass hypothesis in funding compensatory education (Dougherty and Klibanoff, 1978), school sites in which special projects and funds to support them are concentrated seem to be bright spots in urban education (Chase, 1978; Brown and Dixon, 1976; Trisman et al., 1975).

Another observation by Averch et al. is that, "Innovation, responsiveness, and adaptation in school systems . . . depend upon exogenous shocks to the system" (p. 156). Most such shocks to systems and schools depend upon the ability of the external change agent to encourage the insider to take on new activities, not to abandon old ones, i.e., to supplement the resource base so that new behaviors are more attractive than the old. Extradistrict project support is very likely associated with change *and* improvement in district schools.

Despite the fact that the 40 studies reviewed offered little direct evidence on the relationship between school expenditures and school outcomes, they did provide clues that intra- and extradistrict supplementary funding for projects is a critical factor in bringing about exceptional performance in urban elementary schools, enough to suggest the generalization: *There is evidence to support the proposition that special project funding from federal, state, and local sources is associated with successful urban elementary schools and programs.*

Policy makers, planners, and change agents concerned with improvement in urban elementary schools should certainly not ignore either 1) the apparent willingness of urban districts to mount innovative programs to attract outside funding, or 2) the number of instances in which outstanding elementary programs and schools in urban districts are associated with specially funded project activities.

5. Resources and Facilities

There was literally no evidence that physical plant was associated with any of the outcome measures. As a matter of social and educational policy, this would hardly lead to the conclusion that restoration and improvement of physical plant facilities in urban center schools is unimportant, but in contrast with other moves that might be made, they would seem to have little likelihood of directly affecting school outcome measures of the sort used by the researchers and evaluators in these studies.

Evidence in regard to instructional resources is not clearcut. None of the SSS studies identified this variable as of major importance. In the SE projects the measure employed for this independent variable was so crude as to be unlikely to be related to outcomes, e.g., expenditures for books and supplies. The CEP studies provide most of the positive evidence. The Compensatory Reading Program evaluation concluded that one characteristic of successful programs was a "relative breadth of materials" (Trisman et al., 1975, p. 161). Brittingham et al., 1977, and Goldner, 1973, also reported positive relationships. In contrast, the Michigan State Department of Education, 1975, reported that among their Chapter 3 districts, "The higher scoring districts spent less on instructional materials than the low scoring districts" (p. 27).

It would be hard to argue logically that instructional materials are not important in the attainment of cognitive learning outcomes for students. What seems more likely to be the case is that 1) variance in expenditures for instructional software from school to school is too small to track by any general measures of cost, and 2) the variable is not sufficiently powerful as a determinant of educational outcomes to sustain a relationship except in conjunction with other variables, i.e., presence or absence of a breadth of materials is dwarfed by such variables as competence of project or school leadership, curricular goal concentration, staff development programs, etc.

6. School-Community/Parent Contacts

Thirteen of the 40 studies examined the relationship between community (primarily parent) involvement with schools or programs and school outcomes. Eleven reported positive relationships; two reported no relationship. Those studies noting the relationship made such assertions as:

> Perhaps the most unexpected result is the recurrent finding that parental involvement is important. . . . (McLaughlin, 1977, p. 69).
>
> Among the characteristics common to the more successful programs in the basic skills is the active involvement of parents in instruction (Chase, 1978, p. 28).
>
> Successful schools were more likely to have parents in the classroom as aides, visitors, and as volunteers.... Involvement in the *classroom* rather than in the school in general is related to academic success.... that *parent* involvement specifically, and not the use of instructional aides in general, is associated with school success....(Wellisch et al., 1976, p. IV-9).

There was little information in the studies to support a relationship between general community/school contacts and outcome measures, e.g., community involvement with advisory committees or in school decision making or community use of school facilities or school outreach programs. However, there was support for the generalization that: *Parental contact with and involvement in school programs is related to school and program success in urban elementary schools.*

Summary

Based on an analysis of 40 research and evaluation studies of urban elementary schools and programs, six variables were found to be associated frequently with exceptional outcomes:

1. School or program leadership—most frequently the leadership style or leader behavior of the principal
2. Staff development and training programs for professional personnel
3. A lower than usual ratio of children to adults in instructional settings
4. A curriculum emphasis on achievement in basic skills, especially reading and mathematics
5. Special project funds for instruction or instructional support activities in the school
6. Involvement of parents in the school's instructional program.

There are some additional observations about each of these variables that seem to be accurate descriptions of what goes on in successful schools and programs:

1. *Leadership.* The impact of the administrator's leadership is felt in the school climate, i.e., the expectations held for teacher and student behavior, a sense of orderliness and purpose. Effective principals and program leaders are available to help teachers with their classroom problems every day as the problems arise. These leaders are looking for opportunities to obtain outside resources, funds, or people to help ameliorate the school's problems. And once such assistance is obtained, they are conscientious, orderly, efficient project managers.
2. *Staff development.* Training programs for teachers should be focused on the classroom objectives and activities of the teachers. Staff development should be considered a broader concept than formal training or workshop sessions; it involves providing time in the teacher's schedules for joint planning and the interchange of ideas and for technical assistance on a regular basis.
3. *Child-adult ratio.* Increasing the opportunity for children to work in small group or tutorial situations with adults seems to be an especially effective instructional strategy.
4. *Curricular emphases.* Concentration on achievement-oriented objectives is a key to improving student learning in urban schools. This may be simply another way in which to describe the effect of time-on-task. Individualization of instruction is undoubtedly important. More prescriptive instructional programs and structured teaching approaches seem more effective. Individual student and program evaluation and

monitoring are associated with successful programs.

5. *Project funds.* Extra funds made available through special projects and programs seem both to stimulate efforts to try something new and to sustain the "something new" by making it possible to support the teachers who are trying to carry out the program.

6. *Parent involvement.* The more focused the parent involvement is on instruction, the more successful it is likely to be. If parents can actually work with their children in classroom settings, the involvement will more likely be associated with school or program success.

Conclusions

Although the final chapter of this study will detail the interpretation of the results of studies of urban elementary schools and the implication of those results to policy makers, the following brief conclusions are offered based on the findings from the perspective used in this chapter.

One might reflect on the significance of the six variables identified. They are obviously not a recipe for program or school success. Successful schools and programs exist in which some of these factors are missing and other factors not on the list are present. So what is the point of the list at all? At the very least it probably alerts practitioners and decision makers to factors which, if missing, may cause program difficulties. If leadership is unlikely to come from an elementary school principal, it would be prudent to make provision for a program or project leader or to identify and nurture teacher leaders at the site. If a formal staff development program is not a part of the operation at a particular school, especially one attempting to effect change, one might provide more day-to-day support through technical assistance for teachers.

Policy makers or external change agents might use such an inventory of variables to predict the likelihood of success of their efforts and investments or even to hedge their bets by building in requirements for certain program features in their grants.

To obtain a macro-level description of exceptional schools is a necessary step to take but it is insufficient. The accumulation of evidence on factors related to success in urban schools was a sensible route to follow; it has been followed; and it is unlikely that additional efforts employing similar techniques would unearth different results or extend our understanding of the factors and their relationship to exceptionality in urban education.

Recommendations for Further Study

Research and evaluation to date suggest, to this author, three approaches to further inquiry in the area that might extend our knowledge of how exceptionality in urban education can be increased.

1. *Tracing the effects of factors.* Up to this point, almost no effort has been made to describe how factors associated with successful urban schools operate or interact within those schools. For example, there seems little doubt that the school principal is influential in determining success in urban center schools. The interesting question, on which

there is little information, is how that influence is exercised and where it is felt. Does the principal act chiefly upon teachers? If so, how? By helping them with problems, encouraging them, recognizing performance? The study of exceptional urban school programs, if it is to continue, should concentrate on descriptive research at a micro-level in an attempt to track and link factors and effects within the school itself.

2. *Linking factors.* Undoubtedly, factors identified with successful urban schools have relationships not illuminated by the current literature. First, they probably exist in some hierarchical relationship of significance, e.g., effective leadership, if it is present, may overwhelm the negative impact of other associated factors; or conversely, project support may compensate substantially for less effective leadership. Some factors may be *sine qua non* conditions, i.e., sufficiently inept leadership performance may be disabling regardless of what other factors are present; others may be complementary conditions. Second, the factors may well interact in configurations that have not been identified, e.g., the factors of staff development and curricular emphasis on basic skills may be more powerful in combination than staff development and parent involvement. In the near future with our current limited knowledge base, studies of links between and among factors will have to be pursued descriptively and should be based, to some extent, on data derived from the "effects" studies suggested in the preceding paragraph.

3. *Factors and incidents over time.* An understanding of how exceptional urban schools emerge and then sustain themselves or of how they fail will never be attained solely by studying factors associated with these schools at a point in time. Each of these factors has a history and is moving through a set of events, internal and external to the school, which will determine its future. Added to the studies of factors must be a systematic study of incidents or occurrences that explain the existence or absence of factors. To understand how exceptionality develops, grows, or falters will require longitudinal studies of urban schools as organizations, just as an understanding of child development required longitudinal studies of youngsters.

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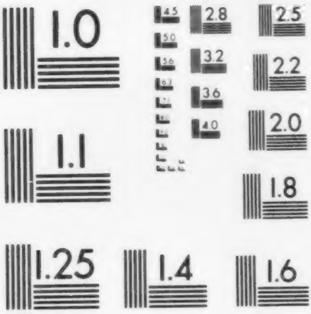
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4. Evidence From Experts

by

Linda S. Lotto

The two previous chapters have reported evidence on exceptionality in urban elementary schools aggregated from case and research studies. This chapter presents evidence from a different kind of data source, that obtained from interviews with urban school researchers, change agents, and policy makers. In this inquiry the evidence from the experts is used to: 1) complement the secondary source data presented in Chapters 2 and 3; and 2) indicate areas of consensus and conflict among experts representing multiple perspectives on urban schools.

Procedures

The individual experts were selected on the basis of multiple references and citations in the research and case study literature. Of an initial group of 25, 11 persons were actually interviewed. They were selected on the basis of the diversity of their backgrounds and experiences rather than their similarities, i.e., an effort was made to interview people involved with urban school improvement from a variety of perspectives rather than multiple individuals from a single perspective. The perspectives represented in this study are:

1. *The federal government perspective* (three individuals). The federal government experts tend to view urban school effectiveness from a "top-down" position as policy makers and program administrators. They are responsible for and concerned with school improvement nationally.
2. *The change agent perspective* (three individuals). The change agents are individuals, both researchers and district program leaders, who work directly in the schools to effect positive change. They are concerned with urban school improvement locally.
3. *The social scientist perspective* (five individuals). The social scientists or educational researchers are inquirers with no real stake in effecting urban school improvement. They are observers of, rather than participants in, urban education. Their perspective might be described as one that viewed school effectiveness from the outside, looking in.

The interview schedule used to collect the data was organized around five major areas: 1) instances of exceptionality in urban schools; 2) evidence of exceptionality (dependent variables); 3) causes of exceptionality (independent variables); 4) potential generalizability of exceptionality to other urban schools; and 5) policy planning implications. In the sections that follow, evidence is presented from the federal government, change agent, and social scientist perspectives on four broad issues relevant to exceptionality in urban elementary schools:

1. Are there exceptional urban elementary schools?
2. What is the nature of that exceptionality?
3. What causes exceptionality in urban schools?
4. Can exceptionality be promoted?

Are There Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools?

The Federal Perspective

Federal government efforts at improving urban education for disadvantaged students fall under two broad categories:

1. *Compensatory education* is remedial, "catch up," or intensive instruction provided to students from low-income, minority group, and other disadvantaged families to help them compensate for environmental disadvantages. This strategy assumes that the educational problems of disadvantaged students stem from basic deficiencies within the student, deficiencies that can be remedied by increases in the *quantity* of instruction provided these students by the schools.

2. *School improvement* refers to upgrading the quality of education offered by schools serving disadvantaged populations. This would include modifications in the type or amount of materials, facilities, teachers, and curricula, i.e., changes that modify the school experiences of disadvantaged youngsters qualitatively. This strategy assumes that the educational problems of disadvantaged students stem from deficiencies within urban schools and the education provided to their clients.

Federal experts involved with both compensatory and school improvement programs cited examples of successful urban elementary schools and projects or programs within urban schools. The single reservation expressed was a concern that urban schools are underrepresented among exceptional schools in the general school population. However, the consensus was that the federal investment in improving urban schools had yielded an adequate return.

The Change Agent Perspective

The change agent perspective reflects the views of individuals working in a range of school improvement efforts at the local level, e.g., developing an alternative school, directing a districtwide improvement program, conducting needs assessments, or encouraging local school or district problem-solving efforts. All three change agent respondents reported instances of exceptionality in urban schools:

1. District-initiated school improvement programs stretching back to the late 1950s in several instances effected remarkable transformations in urban schools.

2. A model education program in one high school feeder area that focused on sequential improvements over the life history of the student in school has turned around the 16 schools in that feeder area.

3. Alternative school projects have produced highly successful schools developed specifically to meet the needs of urban youth.

The Social Scientist Perspective

The five researchers interviewed were all pursuing the question of exceptionality, success, and/or effectiveness in urban schools. Two of the five gathered their data directly in site visits to urban schools and noted specific instances of successful urban schools and programs. Three worked from secondary sources, the school census records. Of the three who gathered primarily census data, only one felt that high-performing urban schools existed. The other two contended that there was simply no strong evidence to support the proposition that there were exceptional schools. This distinction between researchers using different data sources suggests that differences among schools that are readily observable on site visits are not being, or cannot be, identified by the census or normative data gathered from the schools. The alternative plausible hypothesis is, of course, that the site visitors are gathering and reporting spurious impressions about the schools.

However, even respondents who felt that current normative evidence was weak regarding exceptional schools accepted the former hypothesis and offered two explanations for the failure of extant inquiry techniques to validate what seems to be observable phenomena: 1) Poor quality input data, i.e., the available census data on school personnel and finances, do not adequately describe the make-up of a school and the education it provides; and 2) Insensitive outcome measures, i.e., an overreliance on mean school achievement scores, tend to obfuscate important interschool variations.

Despite their inability to document exceptionality in urban schools, these researchers contended that such schools exist and will be documented when appropriate inquiry techniques are used. It is probably fair to say that the researchers, conceptual and methodological problems aside, concurred that exceptional schools could be found.

Conclusions

The experts were unanimous in answering yes to the question with which this section began. Federal administrators cite examples of successful national programs; change agents cite examples of successful local efforts on a building and district basis; and researchers, even when faced with data that do not show the existence of exceptional schools, tend to explain away this finding and express the opinion that more sophisticated techniques would uncover the maverick schools that they are convinced exist.

An important generalization can, I believe, be supported by the observations noted above, which offer important clues in tracing the emergence of, and in continuing the investigation of, successful urban schools: *Successful urban schools and programs frequently result from concerted school improvement efforts. In other words, high achieving urban schools are not all fortuitous accidents; often they are conscious transformations of previously substandard schools.* Positive change can and has been accomplished through programs, projects, and efforts on the part of parents, teachers, and administrators. Elements in a school *can* be manipulated; outcomes *can* be improved. The problem is to determine which elements can be manipulated, in what way, and to what ends.

What Is The Nature of Urban School Exceptionality?

The Federal Perspective

Experts in Washington define exceptionality almost exclusively in terms of successful programs and projects. Compensatory education projects are judged successful if students' scores on standardized achievement tests are raised significantly. In contrast, school improvement programs are frequently judged successful in terms of project-specific objectives, which deal with modifications in the learning environment. However, even those projects are ultimately judged (by legislators) on achievement test score criteria. The responding experts viewed this continuing federal reliance on test score gains as necessary but not sufficient for assessing school performance. The reliance of federally sponsored programs and projects on achievement score criteria stems from congressional concern for accountability and congressional views on the goal of public education in this country.

The Change Agent Perspective

Unlike the federal government experts, the change agents characterized exceptional urban schools on multiple criteria. The evidence offered in support of the exceptional nature of these schools included:

1. Physical condition of the school (cleanliness, decreased vandalism)
2. School climate (permeated with love and caring, pride and a sense of accomplishment, a feeling of involvement in the school)
3. Student behavior (improvements in self-concept, attendance, conduct, motivation, morale, and sometimes achievement)
4. Teacher behavior (improvements in staff morale and attendance)

The Social Scientist Perspective

With one exception, the researchers used mean school achievement scores as the indicator of school performance. This was consistently true of researchers working with census and normative survey data. However, when queried about the adequacy of these measures, they were quick to concede that other standards could be used; it was simply a matter of choice. What is important to note, though, is their consistent choice of mean school achievement scores.

Conclusions

The experts were divided in their answer to the question of the nature of urban school exceptionality. Experts in Washington characterized exceptional schools and programs as those that exceeded expected achievement score gains. Local school change agents characterized exceptional schools primarily in terms of affect—how students, teachers, and parents felt about school and their relationship to it. The researchers, while asserting that other criterion measures might be considered appropriate if they distinguished among school outputs, primarily used achievement test scores as the criterion of school success.

In light of the problems inherent in the use of the achievement criterion as the sole measure of school performance, it is probably fair to conclude: *Achievement test score gains are insufficient measures of exceptionality in urban schools and programs.* There are two subissues related to the use of achievement test scores as criterion measures:

1. *The values problem.* The use of achievement test scores as the indication of school effectiveness or school success posits basic skills competency as the primary goal for the urban school. In fact, however, public schools operate with multiple goals and these goals are weighted differently by students, teachers, administrators, parents, and other audiences. How then to assess effectiveness? On the basis of student goals, teacher goals, researcher goals? Future investigators must deal with the peculiar nature of public schools as organizations having multiple audiences and multiple goals.

2. *The visibility problem.* Achievement score gains are not particularly visible when a parent walks into the school. Other indications of exceptionality should not be ignored in the push for basic skills competence. Future investigators need to gather data on the relationship between positive changes in school and classroom affect and achievement. There may be some outcomes that are linked sequentially to achievement gains, e.g., attitude changes that facilitate achievement gains and in turn result in raised expectations.

What Causes Exceptionality in Urban Schools?

The conceptual framework undergirding this study posited that changes in one or more of a set of potentially manipulable elements of a school would result in changes on one or more outcome measures. The respondents for this substudy were asked a general question about the cause(s) of exceptionality in urban schools.

Table 8 summarizes the respondents' observations on the causes of exceptionality in urban schools. The symbol (+) indicates the respondent felt that variables in this category were directly related to urban school improvement; the symbol (0) indicates that the variable was perceived to be weakly related to urban school improvement; and the symbol (—) indicates that the respondent felt that the particular variable was unrelated to positive change in urban schools. The subsections that follow describe the nature of the observations made in each category, aggregate the observations in the form of summary generalizations about the causes of exceptionality in urban schools, and assess the relative strength of the generalizations.

Table 8
Summary Observations: Causes of Exceptionality

Respondents	Variable Categories					
	Leadership	Personnel	Finance	Curriculum	Resources	Community
A	+	0		0	0	0
B	+	+	+	+		0
C	+				+	
D		0				
E	+			—		0
F	0	+		0		+
G	+	+	+	+		
H	+	+	+	—		0
I	+	+		+	+	

*The total number of respondents listed here equals nine, since two individuals made no observations on causes of exceptionality in urban schools.

Leadership

Leadership was overwhelmingly noted as key to a successful urban school or program. Only one individual failed to mention it. Within the group, some interesting observations on what makes leadership a critical variable were mentioned.

When experts at the federal level discussed the role of leadership in school or program success, they spoke of the importance of effective management, instructional leadership, careful planning, and collaborative governance. They saw the principal in primarily administrative terms—overseeing the functions and personnel of the school, orchestrating key decisions, and looking beyond the immediate present. This definition of effective leadership fits their experiences both with leadership and with urban schools and keeps the principal in a fairly traditional position—but more far-sighted and more organized than most.

Individuals who work with the schools view the role of leadership in school performance somewhat differently than the experts in Washington. Typical comments included:

> Effective leaders in urban schools function as motivating forces for the school in two directions. Effective principals are able to use external political and organizational structures to support programs and policies they initiate within the school. Within the school, effective

> principals enable teachers to take teaching seriously and to function effectively within their classrooms.
>
> All changes that occur at the classroom and individual student levels are ultimately determined by moves made by the principal. Effective leaders succeed through their influence with teachers, parents, and students.
>
> The role of the principal in school improvement is to make it clear to students, teachers, and parents what the success standards of the school are. The principal sets the expectations for the rest of the school.

For experts at the local level, success is achieved through leaders who act to support, to motivate, and to encourage high performance. The principal is the prime mover within the school, the initiator of a series of linked events that result in positive change. This individual may or may not be especially charismatic. More important to success than personal attitudes, however, is the ability to manipulate the organizational structures within the school and the political structures surrounding it. Successful leaders are skilled and competent, functioning effectively in their roles.

The researchers were relatively unenlightening as to why leadership is so important to school success. Several spoke of "clear and effective leadership"; one individual supported the notion of setting high expectations by observing that the principal contributes to school success by establishing a clearly defined mission for the school.

Teachers and Teaching

Teachers were the element mentioned most frequently after leadership as being crucial to school improvement. Interestingly enough, no one mentioned a single specific thing that teachers could or should do to effect positive performance in students. Rather, the focus of the observations about teachers tended to be on *what teachers need* in order to teach effectively. Following is a sampling of what the experts felt teachers need to be successful:

> Resources to develop curriculum materials, e.g., materials, agenda, motivation.
>
> A sense of identification or engagement with the school—urban teachers need to overcome alienation resulting from low pay, low morale, and a feeling that the environment is immutable.
>
> Reward patterns and role relationships that reinforce working with children.
>
> Daily assistance with problem solving.

The type of support that the experts perceived teachers needed was related to the experts' perspective. Experts closest to the schools seemed to feel the present system hinders teachers from effective work and that adjustments ought to be made such that teachers were free to teach. On the contrary, experts located at a distance from the schools,

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representatives of the federal government and social scientist perspectives, tended to feel that, in their current state, teachers were not performing optimally and that specific interventions ought to be implemented to "repair" the teachers, e.g., inservice training programs.

Curriculum and Instruction

The curriculum and instruction variables drew the most varied responses. Overall only two variables were noted as being associated with positive performance: structured learning environments and individualized instruction. Two experts noted in passing that small instructional groups probably facilitated classroom learning, as did instructional time on task.

However, no one in the group argued that curriculum variables per se are unrelated to school success. The organization of the school for instruction, the learning experiences provided by classroom teachers, the particular pedagogical approach—all these affect the cognitive and affective responses of children to school. What distinguishes the variance in student responses to school is not the label attached to the learning environment or the curriculum but the implementation of it, the translation of a pedagogy into an experience for children.

The overriding assessment of curriculum variables by the respondents was that they are unrelated to high performance. Thus success of curriculum interventions rests to no small degree with concomitant and complementary manipulations of leadership and teaching variables. The essence of those manipulations ought to be supportive and facilitative, e.g., appropriate teaching, materials, administrative support.

Finance and School Resources

Although these two categories of variables were mentioned relatively infrequently, together they represent influential factors for school improvement. Every expert interviewed expressed a belief that continued external funding support was necessary for urban school improvement. One individual summed up the relationship between money and success in urban schools:

> Money is necessary but insufficient for school improvement. Money is important because it can be translated into hope, into enabling power for achieving change. It represents a way for people to feel and to know that their plans can be carried out. Financial resources become motivation for change to occur.

In regard to the instructional materials used by a school, two factors seemed to be important: 1) a sufficient quantity of relevant instructional materials, and 2) consistency within the district of the text used. The former refers to the adequacy of materials available for classroom use. The latter refers to the adoption of a single text; for example, a single reading series for use across the entire district. This is especially crucial in urban areas characterized by a highly mobile student population. Consistency in instructional materials allows students to move across schools and grades comfortably without instructional gaps or deficits caused by changes in texts.

Community

The cluster of variables labeled community were typified in general as weakly related to school success. Although exceptional schools seem to be characterized by good rapport between school and the community, the mere establishment of good parental relations is insufficient to create improvements other than in parental attitudes toward school.

One expert felt strongly that the community was an important resource in school improvement, primarily as a reinforcement for the school's philosophy. Churches, business, even local institutions of higher education can be convinced to offer verbal support for school efforts and to develop their own programs for community improvement, e.g., parent counseling programs, apprenticeship programs, etc. A federal program administrator described how school improvement occurred as the school worked to initiate community awareness and involvement in community self-help projects. He saw community involvement as key to the governance of the school as a community institution, sensitive and responsive to the needs of its total constituency.

Many federal programs, particularly Title I programs, mandate parental involvement with the school through Community Advisory Panels (CAPs). Such involvement essentially strives to make lower SES parents behave as if they were middle class, in a sense to "fix" parents as compensatory education programs strive to "fix" students. As one respondent commented, "Those programs [CAPs] will never be a substitute for educated parents." What inner-city parents need are structures or frameworks for school participation that reflect the realities and needs of inner-city people and that are not modeled on middle-class values and political structures.

Conclusions

Based on comments and reactions from the experts interviewed, exceptionality in urban elementary schools appears to be associated with school leadership that motivates and supports teachers and with teachers who concentrate on teaching. In conjunction with these, two other factors contributing to exceptionality in urban schools are external funding support for programs and projects and well-defined school and curricular objectives.

Can Exceptionality Be Replicated?

When asked to comment on the potential replicability of exceptional urban schools, the consensus of the experts was that there is nothing magical about the existence of high-achieving urban schools. Exceptionality results from explicit improvement efforts, efforts that could be implemented in other urban schools. However, the one exception recorded is worth noting, for it is important:

> Exceptionality needs to be reinvented in each setting. Because changes in schools involve changes in people, there will always be a need to reinvent part of the wheel.

Replication is not a simplistic process of exporting products or even conditions. It involves modifications in the behavior and attitudes of the people who inhabit the school. To the extent that school change involves groups of people and their interactions, the replication of exceptionality will require unique approaches to problems in each setting.

Two generalizations can be stated that typify the respondents' answer to the question of replication:

1. The number of exceptional urban schools in this country could likely be increased through conscious manipulations of school elements by policy planners, decision makers, and participating groups.
2. However, replicability is not an easy task because changing schools is a complicated, frustrating, and often idiosyncratic process that entails changing people's behaviors, motivations, and attitudes.

In addition to assessments of the potential for replicability of exceptional urban schools, the experts were asked to suggest what they believed to be effective strategies for change at both the local and federal levels. The sections that follow summarize their recommendations and, where appropriate, draw inferences from those recommendations in the form of generalizations about the process of school improvement.

Recommendations to Local Decision Makers

The experts suggested multiple tactics for effecting change in urban elementary schools, tactics that affect both individuals and the school. It must be remembered that these tactics are not strategies; they are starting points, not overall plans of action. They are an aggregation of important things to do in achieving exceptional urban elementary schools.

Tactics for modifying the affective climate of the school.

1. Involve as many different people as possible in the change process.
2. Deal constructively and not patronizingly with parents.
3. Provide room and support for teachers to develop professionally.
4. Articulate a "point of view for the kids" regarding school expectations.
5. Develop a sense of ownership in the school across all participant groups.

Tactics for modifying actions and behaviors

1. Establish locally based training programs for principals.
2. Provide adequate technical assistance to teachers.
3. Modify extant organizational structures to meet new institutional needs and processes.
4. Articulate a clear statement of school mission.
5. Establish a sense of institutional autonomy and control over external political and bureaucratic structures.

Strategies for Change

With regard to strategies for change at the local level, two can be inferred from the tactics suggested above: one was recommended directly as an effective approach.

1. Change strategies at an individual level ought to be directed to providing motivation for change.

Individuals can be induced to change their behavior through the application of rewards or sanctions. It is important for change agents to consider the variation in motivation both across and within participant groups and the appropriateness of specific motivators to each group.

2. At an institutional level change strategies ought to reflect an understanding of the nature of schools as organizations and of the roles participants play in them.

In order to modify the behavior of individuals within an organization, it is necessary to understand their functions within that organization. For urban school improvement this means at least attending to the *appropriate spheres of influence* for specific participant groups. Administrators, teachers, parents, and students are participant groups whose influence on other groups is not equal but is defined by the role they fill within the school. Principals, for example, will be more effective seeking to influence the behavior of teachers rather than students. The sphere of influence is defined by the role, not the individual.

3. Change strategies ought to focus on incremental problem solving.

Problem solving, undertaken incrementally, involves a change strategy that begins with problem identification, proceeds to the solution of the simplest problems, and becomes increasingly penetrating.

Recommendations to Federal Policy Planners

The suggestions from the experts for changes in federal policy with regard to urban school improvement can be expressed in one tactical and one strategic recommendation.

1. The Federal government ought to continue and slightly increase its investment in urban education. The administration of that support ought to be simplified.

The experts were unanimous in their belief that federal revenues have been and will continue to be instrumental in provoking and sustaining improvement in urban schools. Despite program evaluations with ambiguous results in regard to improvement nationally, the respondents felt that without federal program and project monies, urban districts would be unable to even attempt school improvement. Most of the respondents recommended moderate increases in the amount of federal aid to urban schools.

In addition, most of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with current procedures for obtaining and dispersing federal funds. The multiple decision points, the detailed paperwork, and the excessive amount of time required were mentioned as problem areas for urban school leaders in working with the federal government. The rigid specifications for the use of federal funds should be loosened such that federal aid could be used in conjunction with other specified revenue sources more easily.

2. The current federal strategy of prescribing solutions should be modified to a supportive federal role aiding local districts in problem solving and self-renewal.

The problem with the current federal strategy is that it is based on an assumption that simply is not true, i.e., that legislating conditions associated with successful schools and programs is sufficient to create them. That strategy neglects the need for local schools to deal creatively and sensitively with their unique problems; it neglects the essential element of school change, which is changes in *people*, not changes in *things*. The experts repeatedly asserted that the key to urban school improvement lies in local efforts directed at solving local problems.

Federal strategy ought to be appropriate to the knowledge base. Few programs have adequately reflected what is known about conditions necessary for urban school improvement. The federal government ought to organize support programs that emphasize factors known to be crucial in school change, while granting the local districts a significant degree of autonomy and flexibility in designing the program. The reward for program or project success ought to be continued federal support rather than the withdrawal of that support.

Summary

The sense of the experts' recommendations is both comforting and disturbing. They assure us that improvement is not only possible but likely, yet they offer no easy solutions to transform urban schools. The recommendations suggest that 1) there are multiple ways to develop exceptionality in an urban school, 2) flexibility and openness are required by the change process, and 3) no matter how much assistance individual schools receive, they must confront and surmount the problems endemic to their particular situation.

5. Factors Associated with Success In Urban Elementary Schools

The three previous chapters have offered some conclusions regarding what is known about exceptionality in urban elementary schools aggregated from three data bases: case studies, research and evaluation reports, and expert opinion. In this chapter those conclusions are compared and synthesized into a set of 12 generalizations that summarize what is known about causes of exceptionality in urban elementary schools. The generalizations describe factors associated with school success. This association may be inferred to be strong, firm, or moderate, on the basis of the strength of the conclusions in the separate substudies. The generalizations themselves are offered confidently as a realistic assessment of what is currently known about the determinants of urban school improvement.

Table 9 summarizes the findings of the three substudies in regard to factors associated with urban school success. The factors are grouped according to the categories of school variables defined in Chapter 1. The remainder of this chapter discusses, in turn, the generalizations appropriate to each category of school variables. In each section the generalizations that seem to typify the relationship between specific independent variables and outcome measures are presented, followed by brief descriptions of the accumulated evidence across substudies and an assessment of the overall strength of the generalization in achieving urban school improvement. Finally, a brief concluding section discusses the implications of these generalizations for strategies for urban school improvement.

Leadership

1. *The behavior of the designated school or program leader is crucial in determining school success.*

Leaders are important because they influence the behavior of subordinates and other school participants. They initiate programs, set policy, and obtain material and fiscal resources. They are frequently the motivation and support for school improvement. Principals are particularly important because they are the designated leaders of comprehensive school units. Program leaders are effective in achieving program success, which may be instrumental to general school success. Nondesignated leaders, such as teacher, parent, or other extraschool groups, experience difficulty in mounting school improvement initiatives because they lack the necessary perquisites of effective leadership, i.e., permanence, power, and legitimacy.

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Table 9. Summary of Findings About Factors Associated with Exceptionality in Urban Elementary Schools

Factors Associated with School or Program Success	Strength of Finding by Substudy (See Key Below)		
	Case Lit.	Res. Lit.	Experts
Leadership			
1. Leadership style or behavior	+	++	++
2. Leader attitude toward urban education, expectations	+	+	+
Teaching Personnel			
1. Staff development, inservice training	++	++	+
2. Specificity and focus of training, e.g., program or project goals and processes	++	+	0
3. Reductions in adult/child ratios	++	++	+
Finance: Special Project Funding	++	++	+
Resources and Facilities	0	0	0
Curriculum and Instruction			
1. Emphasis on reading and math achievement	++	++	+
2. Structured learning environment	+	+	+
3. Individualized instruction	++	+	0
Community Resources			
Parental contact and involvement in school activities	+	++	+

++ Strong support for positive relationship
+ Modest support for positive relationship
0 No relationship supported

2. *The leader's attitude toward, or philosophy of, urban education and expectations for school or program success determine the impact of the leader on exceptional schools.*

Frequently, researchers have sought to relate the success or failure of school leaders to professional characteristics such as years of training, experience, etc., and personal characteristics such as age, sex, race, etc. These data were readily available from extant public records and easily obtainable using normative survey techniques. However, the evidence from the three substudies points to leaders' attitudes as far more important to school or program success than other leader variables.

Support for the preceding two generalizations varied among the substudies. The case literature offered comparatively modest support for the effects of leader behavior on school outcomes. But in the instances where leadership was associated with school or program success (approximately one-third of the cases), leadership style and leader attitudes were the variables mentioned as explanations for leader effects. The research studies noted leaders and leader behavior as related strongly to success in urban schools. They emphasized that effective leaders did more; they framed goals and objectives, set standards of performance, created a productive working environment, and obtained needed support. The experts provided the strongest evidence on the importance of school leaders. Not only did they assert overwhelming support for the leader as the key to urban school improvement, but they discussed what leaders need to do to create successful schools. As reported in the case and research studies, the experts emphasized leader behavior. Leaders must initiate, motivate, and support school improvement throughout the school. In particular, leaders affect change through their influence on teachers. They motivate and exhort teachers to concentrate on teaching; they obtain political, parental, and financial support. Effective leaders are enablers.

Teaching Personnel

3. *Successful schools and programs frequently utilize staff development or inservice training programs to realize their objectives.*

4. *The greater the specificity or focus of the training program in terms of goals or processes, the greater the likelihood of its success.*

The teacher variables most strongly associated with school and program success in these aggregation studies were not the personal and professional characteristics of individual teachers but were variables relating to staff development and training. Successful schools and programs typically provided their staffs with opportunities for inservice training and development. Additionally, that training was most likely to be successful when it was targeted toward specific school or program goals. As was true with school leaders, the generalizations pertaining to teachers emphasize individual behavior rather than latent characteristics. This is important for two reasons: 1) Behavior is a manipulable variable. Through such devices as inservice training programs, the behavior of teachers can be modified and directed; and 2) staff development programs are evidence of leader initiative for school improvement. These generalizations offer additional support for generalizations 1 and 2.

Support for the importance of staff development in school success was strong in the case and research literature and modest from the experts. While the case studies and research reports emphasized the utility of staff development provisions and technical assistance efforts, the experts emphasized the need of teachers for appropriate resources and support, and the role of designated leaders in supplying them.

5. *Reductions in adult/child ratios are associated with positive school performance.*

Teachers have long contended that they can function more effectively in the classroom if they can work with smaller groups of children. Similarly, educators have long maintained that optimally each child should receive individualized instruction. Reduction in adult-child ratios within classrooms seems to facilitate both of the above. Reductions in adult-child ratios can be achieved in a variety of ways, from hiring paraprofessional teacher aides or initiating a program of parent tutors to adding additional professional staff. The results are usually the same—children spend more school time under the direct instructional guidance of adults working on learning tasks appropriate to the particular child.

The support for this generalization was strong in the case and research literature and weak from the experts. Sixty-three percent of the cases reported the use of supplemental staff in effecting positive school performance. In light of the strong evidence from the literature in support of a reduced adult-child ratio in the school, why were the experts so unimpressed with it as a strategy for school improvement? Perhaps because alone it is not as powerful as effective leadership and teaching. Reductions in adult-child ratios might be interpreted as having potentially less effect on school performance when used as a sole strategy for improvement than when utilized in conjunction with other complementary school improvement strategies.

Finance

6. *Successful schools and programs are often supported with special project funds from federal, state, and local sources.*

When asked to nominate successful programs, urban school districts will most likely name a federally supported project (Chase, 1977, p. 8). Effective principals are those who obtain the financial resources necessary for special school improvement projects. External support is characteristic of many successful schools and programs. Yet financial resources alone obviously do not create success—witness the numerous Title I projects that are not successful. Adequate financial resources are necessary but insufficient for school improvement; money translates into hope and enabling power.

The support for this generalization was unequivocally strong across the substudies. Fifty-three percent of the cases and a significant number of the research studies reported supplementary budgetary allocations to the school. Although only a few of the experts mentioned special project funding as an explicit factor in school improvement, they were nearly unanimous in recommending continued supplemental funding as a means of urban school improvement.

Resources and Facilities

7. *Resource and facility manipulations alone are insufficient to affect school or program outcomes.*

Changes and additions to instructional resources or facilities affect the educational experiences of students, yet independent of other interventions they are insufficiently powerful to affect school outcomes.

Resources and facilities are tools that can be effective or ineffective depending upon the principal and teachers who utilize them. In all three substudies these variables were related weakly to positive school performance. The case literature was particularly instructive in this regard; in no case were changes in resource and facility variables reported as the sole independent variable. They always occurred in conjunction with one or more additional variables, usually curricular changes.

Curriculum and Instruction

8. *Successful urban elementary schools and programs are characterized by clearly stated curricular goals and objectives.*

Successful schools seem to be characterized by a well-defined mission, one that is consistently specified across participant groups. Here again, the principal or other leader is key in establishing curricular objectives and communicating them to the teachers, students, and parents. Public schools too often operate with 1) assumed or implicit goals; 2) multiple goals; 3) vague, abstract, or ill-defined goals. As a result, resources are diffused and no goal is attained.

Support for this generalization was strong in the case and research literature and was often expressed in terms of a curricular emphasis on basic skills achievement. Nearly all the cases reporting a particular curricular objective also reported a content emphasis on reading and/or math. Similarly, half the research reports emphasized the importance of a specific curricular objective—a direct content emphasis—in effecting student achievement score gains. The experts emphasized the role of the school leader in assuming the initiative to define the school's mission and to communicate it to school personnel and clientele.

9. *Structured learning environments are particularly successful in urban classrooms.*

10. *Successful urban schools and programs frequently employ techniques of individualized instruction.*

11. *Success in urban schools, classrooms, and programs appears unrelated to any particular curricular organization, e.g., open classrooms, homogeneous grouping, or any particular instructional strategy, e.g., programmed instruction, language experience approach, etc.*

Generalizations 9, 10, and 11 refer to classroom organization and instructional strategies that appear to be related to school and program success. Structured learning environments offer few opportunities for student choice and provide the teacher a regularized classroom management scheme. An example of a structured learning environment would be diagnostic/prescriptive instruction that emphasizes continuous evaluation and remediation. Urban youngsters in particular seem to respond to and need structure, perhaps because it is often lacking in other aspects of their lives.

Within a structured environment, no particular instructional strategy seemed to be any more successful than another, save the generalized notion of individualized instruction. This would suggest that the particular strategy is not nearly so important as that it be applied individually; that there be some concern for student progress on an individual basis. The support for structured learning environments was only modest across the three data bases, but it was consistent. The case literature strongly supported individualized instruction as a successful strategy, while the research literature offered modest (and sometimes ambiguous) support. The experts did not emphasize a relationship between individualized instruction and school or program success. This difference of opinion across the data sources may have resulted from a difference in the rigor with which individualized instruction was defined.

Community Resources

12. *Successful urban schools and programs are characterized by high levels of parental contact with the school and parental involvement with school activities.*

Parental involvement with school activities and the development of close school-home relationships are popular panaceas for poor school and classroom performance. Their efficacy is partially borne out in the accumulated evidence from the three substudies. Parents who express an interest in school functions and projects tend to become involved with their children and their children's education. Similarly, parents who are active in school affairs tend to become active in community affairs. Strategies for stimulating parent-school contacts can potentially benefit both the individual children of the concerned parents and the urban community as a whole.

The research literature offered strong support for this generalization, the case literature provided modest support, and the experts suggested weak support. An important clue to understanding the relationship between parental involvement and school success and to understanding the variation in support for this generalization lies in the assertion made by several of the responding experts that parental involvement is necessary but insufficient for school success. On its own, parental involvement is likely to influence parental attitude toward school but is unlikely to affect student achievement unless other school variables are also manipulated.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented 12 generalizations describing factors related to urban elementary school or program success. The generalizations covered all six of the major school variable clusters. However, three of these clusters (leadership, teaching personnel, and curriculum and instruction) were obviously more directly related to school improvement and school success than were the other three. In these areas the generalizations tended to be supported by all three substudies. While not a recipe for program or school success, these variables might include the components necessary to the development of potent strategies for improving urban schools. Any attempt to improve an urban elementary school that does not attend to these elements can be expected to have less chance to succeed. Policy makers or external change agents might use such an inventory of variables to predict the likelihood of success of their efforts and investments.

In addition, the data offer support for a focused approach to school improvement. Two of the 12 generalizations associated clarity and specificity of goals and objectives with positive outcomes. *School improvement efforts are more likely to be successful if they concentrate on relatively narrow targets and clearly defined goals.* As logic would dictate, these successful targeted efforts are generally directed toward the central problem facing urban schools, i.e., improving student achievement in reading and mathematics. Hence, the data suggest that schools can be improved by focusing available energies and resources on student achievement in basic skills instead of expending such energies and resources on a wide range of activities.

While successful interventions tend to focus on well-defined goals, *school improvement efforts are more likely to succeed if they involve multiple tactics to attain the goals.* The data support the argument that marshalling resources, i.e., time, personnel, funds, training, and curriculum, to improve specific outcomes is associated with school success. This concentration of efforts might be thought of as mounting a "critical mass" of school or program resources to attain an incremental program gain.

There are logical relationships among the three central clusters of variables worth attention. The leadership, teaching personnel, and curriculum/instruction components are obviously interdependent and could even be argued to have a quasi-sequential relationship. *The major elements necessary for urban school success are interrelated variables that have debilitating effects if they are not in balance and synergistic consequences if they are operating in harmony.* For example, leader effectiveness usually supports, but it may in some cases undermine, teaching effectiveness. Without support, teachers are placed in the position of "going it alone" in their own classrooms or creating an informal leadership group that can function on an interclassroom or school basis. Moreover, a positive change in leadership without resources to provide training or technical assistance or released time for planning to teachers can thwart the effectiveness of that leadership. Even the most charismatic, committed, best trained leader can be thwarted by resource deprivation.

School improvement efforts in urban elementary schools should place the thrust of the intervention closest to the point of effective action. This conclusion is, in fact, a very simple notion. Principals tend to affect teachers; teachers affect students. Assistance to individual students can be provided more effectively by adding a tutor than by manipulating class size. Consideration should be given in school improvement efforts not only to operating with clearly defined goals and specified targets but also to concentrating resources at the point in the school where they are most likely to have the most immediate impact.

Collectively, the three components of this study indicate that the prognosis for reform efforts in urban elementary education is promising, since there *are* urban elementary schools and programs that are achieving the objectives posited by change agents and planners concerned with urban school improvement. Moreover, the distinguishing personnel and program characteristics of these maverick schools are neither so surprising nor so different as to be considered unattainable by large numbers of urban schools.

Appendix A
Data Sources and Search Strategies

Studies were selected from the following sources:

1. AERA program abstracts, 1976-1978
2. ERIC files, 1966 to present
3. Indiana University Education Reading Room card catalogue
4. DATRIX files, 1966 to present
5. Education Index
6. Smithsonian Science Information Exchange (SSIE)
7. Citations and references from any or all of the above

Each data source was systematically searched for relevant material, as described below.

AERA. The program abstracts were searched for presentations dealing with urban elementary schools, site visits and observational methodologies, and urban school programs and program evaluations. Forty-nine requests for papers were mailed to individual authors. Thirty-one authors responded with either the actual conference paper or additional relevant, expanded, or updated material. The references and citations from these items yielded 95 additional titles.

ERIC. The ERIC files (*Resources in Education and Current Journals in Education*) were searched under the descriptors: urban, education, teach, student, facilities, educational finance, resources, change, and improvement. The yield from these searches was approximately 7,500 titles. Additional searches under the descriptors: urban schools, compensatory education, disadvantaged schools, and case studies yielded roughly 800 titles.

Library Card Catalogue. The card catalogue was searched under the terms: effective, elementary schools, urban, and education, urban. This search yielded 17 titles.

SSIE. Three searches using the following descriptors were completed: school social environments, social structure, social climate, specific investigator's names, compensatory education, ethnography, urban education, high-achieving schools, and effects of integration and curriculum development on achievement. These searches yielded roughly 150 titles.

Education Index. This standard reference was searched from 1966 on under the descriptors: urban education, compensatory education, and urban schools. These searches yielded roughly 200 articles.

DATRIX files. These files of dissertation abstracts were searched for case studies pertaining only to elementary schools or programs in urban areas, yielding about 20 titles.

Appendix B

Note 1. Comparative Case Survey Checklist

A. *Background on the Case Study Report*

Standard Bibliographic Entry:

Author:
Title:

Publication Date:

1. The main sponsor of the study was:

    1.1 federal government agency
    1.2 private foundation
    1.3 SEA
    1.4 LEA
    1.5 university
    1.8 other (specify)
    1.9 no information

2. The study was conducted by:

    2.1 federal government agency
    2.2 private research agency
    2.3 regional educational laboratory
    2.4 LEA
    2.5 SEA
    2.6 university
    2.8 other (specify)
    2.9 no information

3. The study appeared in:

    3.1 academic journal
    3.2 report to a sponsoring agency
    3.3 book or published monograph
    3.4 paper delivered to a conference
    3.5 newspaper or popular magazine
    3.6 dissertation
    3.8 other (specify)
    3.9 no information

4. The study was conducted in:

    4.1 1975-79
    4.2 1971-74
    4.3 1967-70
    4.4 1963-66
    4.5 prior to 1963
    4.9 no information

B. *Background on the Case Study*

The study was conducted in ______________________________

5. The scope of the study was:

    5.1 national
    5.2 regional
    5.3 statewide
    5.4 district(s)
        specify number ______________________________
    5.5 school(s)
        specify number ______________________________
    5.6 individual classrooms
    5.8 other (specify) ______________________________

6. The ethnic background of the target population within the unit(s) of study was primarily (indicate all that apply):

    6.1 black
    6.2 Chicano
    6.3 Puerto Rican
    6.4 Indian
    6.5 Oriental
    6.6 white
    6.8 other (specify) ______________________________
    6.9 no information

7. Within the school(s), the emphasis was upon:

    7.1 the general student population

    Specified subgroups:
    7.2 low achievers/remedial
    7.3 low income
    7.8 other (specify) ______________________________
    7.9 no information

8. If the target population included students, were they enrolled in:

    8.1 K through 6
    8.2 preschool, kindergarten, first grade
    8.3 primary (K or 1 through 3)
    8.4 upper elementary (4 through 6)
    8.5 middle school (5 through 8)
    8.8 other (specify) ______________________________
    8.9 no information
    8.0 not applicable

9. The primary subject emphasis (if any) was:

    9.1 all subjects
    9.2 reading and language skills
    9.3 arithmetic

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9.4 arts and music
9.5 physical education
9.6 science
9.7 social studies, including vocational and career education
9.8 other (specify) ______________________________
9.9 no information
9.0 not applicable

C. *Methodological Characteristics of the Case Study*

10. The school or program being described is best typified as:

10.1 an ongoing school or program in an urban setting
10.2 an intervention in a school or school program designed to effect positive performance in an urban setting
10.9 no information

11. The organizational focus of the study is best typified as:

11.1 a single school site
11.2 contrasting school sites—i.e., matched high- and low-achieving schools
11.3 multiple high-achieving sites
11.4 multiple contrasting matched sites
11.5 multiple high- and low-achieving sites
11.6 single site, contrasting programs
11.9 no information

11a. The focus of the study was:

11a.1 an urban elementary school
11a.2 an urban elementary program
11a.3 an urban school system
11a.4 the interactive effects of specified independent/dependent variables in an urban setting
11a.8 other (specify) ______________________________

The variable(s) presumed by the researcher to have an effect upon school/program outcomes were:

12. Inadequately described to render a judgment on 13-15 below

12.1 yes
12.2 no

If the answer to #12 was yes, omit items 13-15 below.

13. Specified and distinguishable from the outcome measures

13.1 yes
13.2 no

14. Distinguishable from related variables which might be presumed to account for differences in outcome measures

14.1 yes
14.2 no

15. Expressed in operational terms and measured or observed systematically

15.1 yes
15.2 no

The variables employed by the researcher as outcome measures were:

16. Inadequately described to render judgment on items 17 and 18

    16.1 yes
    16.2 no

If the answer to #16 was yes, omit items 17 and 18 below.

17. Specified in operational terms

    17.1 yes
    17.2 no

18. Measured or observed systematically

    18.1 yes
    18.2 no

The analytic techniques applied by the researcher (quantitative or qualitative) were:

19. Inadequately described to render a judgment on items 20 through 22

    19.1 yes
    19.2 no

If the answer to #19 above was yes, omit items 20 through 22 below.

20. Specified in the report

    20.1 yes
    20.2 no

21. Consistent with the data gathering tools employed and the variables considered

    21.1 yes
    21.2 no

22. Formal—i.e., could be replicated by other inquirers

    22.1 yes
    22.2 no

23. The findings of this study appear to be generalizable to:

    23.1 a national population
    23.2 a regional population
    23.3 a state population
    23.4 a district population
    23.5 a school population
    23.6 no external validity—i.e., a case study

24. Some instances of exceptionality would be difficult to replicate in other sites because of obviously unique characteristics. This study is characterized by:

    24.1 a unique client group, e.g., special education students
    24.2 a unique school organization feature, e.g., a model school unlikely to be replicated
    24.3 a unique political or historical situation
    24.4 inordinate concentration of funds and resources

24.5 no unique characteristics
24.8 other (specify) ______
24.9 inadequately described to render a judgment on items 1 through 5 above

25. The results of this study may have been influenced by intervening or contaminating variables not specified by the investigator(s)

25.1 yes
25.2 no

26. My level of confidence in this study as a well-executed, well-reported study would best be described as:

26.1 high
26.2 medium
26.3 low

27. My level of confidence in this study is based upon the following assessment of the outstanding strengths and weaknesses of the inquiry (check only the items about which you feel strongly):

27.1 data gathering techniques
27.2 treatment of independent, dependent, and intervening variables
27.3 analytic techniques
27.4 generalizability of results
27.5 reporting techniques
27.8 other (specify) ______

D. *Nature of the Case Study*

28. The study reported upon the following independent variable groups, which were presumed or observed to have an effect on outcome variables (check all that apply)

28.1 school or program leadership
28.2 professional and/or paraprofessional personnel
28.3 financial allocations to the unit
28.4 curriculum and/or instruction
28.5 material resources and/or facilities
28.6 community interaction(s) with the school

29. In gathering evidence on the independent variables, the inquirer employed (check all that apply):

29.1 observation
29.2 interviews
29.3 questionnaires
29.4 previously published reports
29.5 author's own experiences
29.6 extant public records
29.7 self report documents
29.8 other (specify) ______
29.9 no information

30. If the inquirer used interviews to gather evidence, were they with:

30.1 students
30.2 teachers
30.3 parents or community
30.4 administrators
30.8 other (specify) ______

30.9 no information
30.0 not applicable

31. If the inquirer used questionnaires, they were directed toward:

31.1 students
31.2 teachers
31.3 parents or community
31.4 administrators
31.8 other (specify) ______________________
31.9 no information
31.0 not applicable

For items 32 through 45, the variables analyzed in the cases may involve 1) an intervention in a school or program designed to improve the school; 2) a comparison of high- and low-achieving schools; or 3) simply an urban elementary school distinguished by some exceptional performance. The following code is to be used to indicate the treatment of *every variable* listed on the chart.

1. Intervention:
1.1 was noted as a significant variable in this study
1.2 was noted as not having been a significant variable
1.9 no information in this variable

2. Comparison:
2.1 The sites were distinguishable in terms of this variable.
2.2 There was no difference between/among sites on this variable.
2.9 The sites were not compared on this variable.

3. Naturally Occurring:
3.1 This variable was considered significant in the performance of this school.
3.2 This variable was mentioned as having not been significant in the performance of the school.
3.9 This variable was not mentioned.

School Leadership

32. The school principal:

32.1 leadership style:
    32.1.1 leadership content emphasis
    32.1.2 leadership process emphasis
32.2 personal characteristics
32.3 professional characteristics
32.4 tenure in position
32.5 attitudes/philosophy toward urban education and urban children

33. Principalship—the position:

33.1 quantitative adequacy of administrative staffing
33.2 autonomy of decision making
33.3 intraschool shared decision making

34. Nondesignated leadership:

34.1 teacher leaders
34.2 outside leaders from within the school district
34.3 community or parent leaders
34.4 extradistrict leadership
34.5 extraschool, intracommunity leadership

Professional and Paraprofessional Personnel

35. Training:
    - 35.1 target
        - 35.1.1 affective
        - 35.1.2 skills or content
        - 35.1.3 management
        - 35.1.4 specific innovation
    - 35.2 structure
        - 35.2.1 teacher center
        - 35.2.2 university
        - 35.2.3 other intradistrict training or resource centers

36. Supplementary staff:
    - 36.1 paraprofessional personnel:
        - 36.1.1 number of
        - 36.1.2 use of
    - 36.2 intraschool consultative or specialized personnel, e.g., reading consultant
    - 36.3 extraschool consultative or specialized personnel
    - 36.4 regular classroom teachers

37. Personnel organization:
    - 37.1 personal characteristics
    - 37.2 professional characteristics
    - 37.3 special emphasis in use of teacher time

Finance

38. School support level:
    - 38.1 intradistrict budgetary allocation to the school
    - 38.2 extradistrict budgetary allocation to the school
        - 38.2.1 cost sharing
        - 38.2.2 assumption of costs

Curriculum and Instruction

39. Emphases:
    - 39.1 content:
        - 39.1.1 reading
        - 39.1.2 math
        - 39.1.3 other (specify) ______________________
    - 39.2 objectives:
        - 39.2.1 achievement
        - 39.2.2 school pride
        - 39.2.3 self-concept
    - 39.3 students:
        - 39.3.1 general student population
        - 39.3.2 low achievers
        - 39.3.3 low income

40. Structure:
    - 40.1 graded, self-contained
    - 40.2 open
    - 40.3 ungraded
    - 40.4 fundamental
    - 40.5 other (specify) ______________________

41. Processes:

  41.1 individualized instruction
  41.2 behavior modification
  41.3 mastery learning
  41.4 programmed instruction
  41.5 grouping/tracking
  41.6 other (specify) ______________________________

Resources and Facilities

42. Types:

  42.1 instructional hardware:
    42.1.1 TV
    42.1.2 CAI
    42.1.3 other ______________________________
  42.2 instructional software, e.g., library books, texts, etc.
  42.3 physical plant
  42.4 community resources

43. Targets:

  43.1 students:
    43.1.1 all students
    43.1.2 low achievers
    43.1.3 low income
  43.2 subjects

Community

44. Frequency of contact between school and parents:

  44.1 high
  44.2 some
  44.3 low

45. Types of school-community contacts:

  45.1 policies/programs encouraging or facilitating general contacts
  45.2 policies/procedures for involvement of parents in decision making
  45.3 programs of parent instruction and training
  45.4 school outreach programs
  45.5 community use of school facilities

E. *Outcomes*

46. The study investigated or documented school or program effects of the following types:

  46.1 student achievement
  46.2 student attitudes toward school
  46.3 student self-concept as learner
  46.4 teacher attitude toward students as learners
  46.5 teacher morale
  46.6 community or parent attitudes toward school
  46.8 other (specify) ______________________________

47. For items 48 through 54, the case may involve 1) an intervention; 2) a comparison; or 3) a naturally occurring exceptional urban elementary school. Use the following code to record the evidence of achievement:

1. Intervention
1.1 increased
1.2 no significant difference
1.3 decreased
1.9 not mentioned

2. Comparison
2.1 higher
2.2 same
2.3 lower
2.9 not mentioned

3. Natural
3.1 higher than "normal"
3.2 normal
3.3 less than "normal"
3.9 not mentioned

Outcome Variables

48. Student performance:

48.1 in one subject area
48.2 in two subject areas
48.3 in several subject areas

49. Student attitudes toward school

50. Student self-concept as learner

51. Teacher attitude toward student as learner

52. Teacher morale

53. Parent attitudes toward school

54. Other (specify) ____________________

The outcomes noted in items 48 through 54 may be based on a variety of sources of evidence. Indicate for each source of evidence in items 55 through 61 the appropriate outcome variable(s)—according to the following code:

1. student performance
2. student attitude
3. student self-concept
4. teacher attitude
5. teacher morale
6. parent attitude
7. parent involvement
8. other (specify) ____________________
9. no information

55. Tests:

    55.1 standardized
    55.2 textbook
    55.3 teacher or local-developed
    55.4 project specific

56. Teacher grades

57. Questionnaires or opinionnaires from:

    57.1 students
    57.2 teachers
    57.3 parents or community
    57.4 administrators

58. Interviews with:

    58.1 students
    58.2 teachers
    58.3 parents or community
    58.4 administrators

59. Observation

60. School or district records—e.g., of absenteeism, vandalism

61. Assertion by author

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Note 2: Responses to Selected Background Information Items

	Number of Responses	
	Certain	Likely
I. The study was conducted in:		
1. 1975-79	8	2
2. 1971-74	31	3
3. 1967-70	10	1
4. 1963-66	1	2
5. prior to 1963	0	0
6. no information	0	0
II. The main sponsor of the study was:		
1. federal government agency	21	3
2. private foundation	1	1
3. SEA	4	1
4. LEA	17	3
5. university	8	3
6. other (specify)	1	0
7. no information	3	0
III. The study was conducted by:		
1. federal government agency	0	0
2. private research agency	13	0
3. regional educational laboratory	2	0
4. LEA	20	1
5. SEA	3	1
6. university	13	1
7. other (specify)	9	1
8. no information	0	0
IV. The study appeared in:		
1. academic journal	8	0
2. report to a sponsoring agency	29	2
3. book or published monograph	7	1
4. paper delivered to a conference	4	1
5. newspaper or popular magazine	0	0
6. dissertation	3	0
7. other (specify)	4	0
8. no information	0	0

Note 3: Number and Type of Independent Variables Reported Significant by Study

	1 Leadership	2 Personnel	3 Finance	4 Curriculum and instruction	5 Resources and facilities	6 Community inter-actions	Number of variables reported significant*
1.		x	x	x			3
2.		x	x	x		x	4
3.		x	x	x		x	4
4.			x		x		2
5.	x					x	2
6.		x	x	x	x		4
7.		x					1
8.	x	x	x			x	4
9.	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
10.		x	x	x		x	4
11.				x			1
12.	x	x	x	x			4
13.		x	x	x		x	4
14.		x	x	x	x	x	5
15.	x			x		x	3
16.	x	x	x				3
17.		x		x			2
18.	x	x		x		x	4
19.		x	x	x	x		4
20.		x		x	x	x	4
21.		x		x			2
22.		x	x	x			3
23.	x	x		x			3
24.		x	x	x			3
25.						x	1
26.	x	x				x	3
27.		x	x	x	x		4
28.		x		x			2
29.		x		x			2
30.	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
31.	x	x		x		x	4
32.			x	x	x	x	4
33.	x			x			2
34.	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
35.		x	x	x	x		4
36.		x		x	x		3
37.		x		x	x		3
38.	x	x				x	3
39.				x	x		2
40.	x	x		x			3
41.	x	x	x	x		x	5
42.		x	x	x		x	4
43.		x	x	x		x	4
44.		x	x	x	x		4
45.		x	x	x		x	4
46.	x	x		x	x	x	5
47.		x	x	x			3
48.		x	x	x	x	x	5

(continued on page 224)

*The numbers reflect the major categories of variables described and not the numbers
specific variables described within each category.

	1 Leadership	2 Personnel	3 Finance	4 Curriculum and instruction	5 Resources and facilities	6 Community inter-actions	Number of variables reported significant*
49.	x			x			2
50.	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
51.		x	x	x	x	x	5
52.		x	x	x	x		4
53.		x	x	x		x	4
54.				x	x		2
55.		x	x	x	x		4
56.	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
57.	x			x			2
58.				x			1
59.		x	x	x	x	x	5
Total	21	47	34	51	24	29	

*The numbers reflect the major categories of variables described and not the number of specific variables described within each category.

Note 4: Number and Type of Dependent Variables Investigated by Study

	1 Student Achieve-ment	2 Student Attitudes Toward School	3 Student Self-Concept	4 Teacher Attitudes Toward Students	5 Teacher Morale	6 Community Attitudes Toward School	Other Out-comes	Number of Variables Investi-gated
1.		x			x	x	x	4
2.					x		x	2
3.					x		x	2
4.	x							1
5.	x						x	2
6.	x							1
7.	x						x*	2
8.						x		1
9.	x							1
10.	x	x		x	x	x		5
11.	x	x	x					3
12.	x	x	x	x	x	x		6
13.	x							1
14.	x							1
15.	x							1
16.	x		x			x		3
17.	x					x	x	3
18.	x			x				2
19.	x							1
20.	x							1
21.	x							1
22.	x			x			x	3
23.	x				x		x	3
24.	x		x			x		3
25.	x		x	x				3
26.	x	x	x			x		4
27.	x					x		2
28.	x							1

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	1 Student Achievement	2 Student Attitudes Toward School	3 Student Self-Concept	4 Teacher Attitudes Toward Students	5 Teacher Morale	6 Community Attitudes Toward School	Other Outcomes	Number of Variables Investigated
29.	x	x	x	x			x	5
30.	x	x		x	x			4
31.	x	x		x				3
32.	x	x			x	x		4
33.	x	x			x			3
34.	x							1
35.	x					x	x	3
36.	x	x					x	3
37.	x							1
38.	x	x				x		3
39.						x	x*	2
40.	x	x	x					3
41.	x	x		x	x	x		5
42.	x	x	x	x		x		5
43.	x							1
44.	x	x				x		3
45.	x	x					x	3
46.	x							1
47.	x							1
48.	x	x				x		3
49.	x						x	2
50.	x							1
51.	x	x			x			3
52.	x			x				2
53.	x							1
54.	x		x			x	x	4
55.	x							1
56.	x							1
57.	x	x	x	x				4
58.	x							1
59.	x							1
Total	54	19	12	12	11	18	15	

*Investigated two other outcome variables.

	1 Student Achievement	2 Student Attitudes Toward School	3 Student Self-Concept	4 Teacher Attitudes Toward Students	5 Teacher Morale	6 Community Attitudes Toward School	Other Outcomes	Number of Variables Investigated
29.	x	x	x	x			x	5
30.	x	x		x	x			4
31.	x	x		x				3
32.	x	x			x	x		4
33.	x	x			x			3
34.	x							1
35.	x					x	x	3
36.	x	x					x	3
37.	x							1
38.	x	x				x		3
39.						x	x*	2
40.	x	x	x					3
41.	x	x		x	x	x		5
42.	x	x	x	x		x		5
43.	x							1
44.	x	x				x		3
45.	x	x					x	3
46.	x							1
47.	x							1
48.	x	x				x		3
49.	x						x	2
50.	x							1
51.	x	x			x			3
52.	x			x				2
53.	x							1
54.	x		x			x	x	4
55.	x							1
56.	x							1
57.	x	x	x	x				4
58.	x							1
59.	x							1
Total	54	19	12	12	11	18	15	

*Investigated two other outcome variables.